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BRITISH ARMY

ITS

Origin, Progress, and Equipment.

BY

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PREFACE.

It was not anticipated that an interval so prolonged would have occurred between the issue of the preceding portion of this work and the appearance of the present volume. The delay, however, has been due to unavoidable circumstances.

Fortunately, the public interest in the annals of the army is undiminished; it is even considerably increased, since a necessity has arisen for putting on record regimental distinctions, which recent administrative reforms have gone far to minimise if not to obliterate. These traditions of glory—acquired in most cases by acts of signal gallantry and devotion—so venerated by their possessors, have a more practical result than the mere effect of sentiment, for they have stimulated that *amour-propre* in the soldier which is a powerful accessory to discipline, and is the cradle of *esprit de corps* ever conspicuous in the British service.

Nothing in the present aspect of affairs encourages the belief that we have reached the period—approaching though it may be—of “the federation of the world,” when “the war-drum shall throb no longer and the battle-flags be furl’d;” and it may be permitted to express the hope that in any further changes which the exigencies of the times may necessitate, our military administrators may yet see a way to avoid the severance of that historical and local connection, and the disruption of that old comradeship, which increases four-fold the nominal strength of our small fighting force.

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the corporals were all colonels, and the privates gentlemen, for which reason these latter were always described as "Gentlemen of the King's Guards."

HIS MAJESTY'S OWN LIFE GUARD.

Charles, Lord Gerard of Brandon ⁽¹⁾	Captain.
Major-General Randolph Egerton	Lieutenants.
Sir Thomas Sandys, Baronet	
Sir Gilbert Gerard, Baronet	
Col. Thomas Panton ⁽²⁾	
Mr. Edward Stanley ⁽³⁾ (brother to the Earl of Derby)	Cornet.
Colonel James Prodgiers	Quarter Master.
Col. Francis Lovelace	Corporals. ⁽⁴⁾
Col. Charles Scrimshaw	
Col. Francis Berkeley	
Col. Edward Roscarrick	
Dr. Matthew Smallwood	Chaplain.
Mr. Thomas Woodall	Chirurgion.

HIS HIGHNESS ROYAL THE DUKE OF YORK'S LIFE GUARD.

Sir Charles Berkeley ⁽⁵⁾ (Deputy Governor of Portsmouth)	Captain.
(This troop had only one Lieutenant.)	

⁽¹⁾ Son of Sir Charles Gerard, eminently distinguished in the armies of Charles I., who created him a Baron. By Charles II. he was raised to the Earldom of Macclesfield in 1679. [Macclesfield House, Lord Gerard's residence, was in Soho. His name is preserved in Macclesfield Street and Gerrard Street.] By James II. he was sent to the Tower, in company with the Lords Stamford and Delamere, and condemned to death, though afterwards pardoned; died, 1693. Sir Gilbert was his first cousin.

⁽²⁾ A noted gambler, who in one night, it is said, won sufficient to purchase him an estate of £1,500 a year. Panton Street, Haymarket, derives its name from him. (Lucas's *Lives of the Gamblers*, p. 68. 1714; and Cunningham.)

⁽³⁾ Killed in a duel by the Duke of Grafton, 1686. (Evelyn's *Diary*, ii. 250.)

⁽⁴⁾ This rank still obtains in the Household Cavalry, to the exclusion of the term Sergeant.

⁽⁵⁾ Afterwards Earl of Falmouth; killed by the side of the Duke of York in the first Dutch War, 1663. Date of commission 26th January, 1630-1.

HIS MAJESTY'S LIFE GUARD (Under the command of His Grace
George, Duke of Albemarle.)

Sir Philip Howard Captain.

(This troop had also but one lieutenant, and a chaplain.) Several privileges were granted to these Horse Guards, similar to those of the French troops of the *Maison du Roi*, after whom, no doubt, they were modelled. Amongst others, all crimes were to be tried by officers of the three troops, and they were not subject to general courts-martial.⁽¹⁾

Regiment of
Horse Guards.

The same newspaper announced that "His Majesty's Regiment of Horse Guards, under the command of the most honourable and most valiant Aubrey, Earl of Oxford,⁽²⁾ was mustered this day (16th February, 1660-1) in Tuthill Fields." Then follow the names of the officers. This, of course, was the regiment now called Royal Horse Guards (Blue). After the Revolution it was usually termed the OXFORD BLUES in order to distinguish it from a Dutch regiment of Horse Guards, which came over with William III. It consisted of six troops; the King having the first troop as Colonel of the Regiment.

(1) "Nor shall any non-commissed officer or private souldier, after enrollment, and being mustered, be dismissed or cashiered by any officer without order of our Generall, or a regimental court-marshall; and in case such non-commissed officer or private souldier be of Our troops of Horse Guards, by a court consisting of the then present commission officers of the three troopes of Horse Guards, nor out of any garrison, but by a court-marshall as Our Gen^l. shall direct, or by his order." (*S. P. O. Mil. Papers*, Ch. II., *Entry Bk.* No. 11.)

(2) Twentieth and last Earl of Oxford (of the De Vere line). Served both at home and abroad. At the Restoration was made a Privy Councillor, K.G., Lord Lieutenant of Essex, and Colonel of the regiment which perpetuates his name.

Each troop had one captain, one lieutenant, one cornet, one quartermaster, two trumpeters, three corporals, and one hundred and fifty troopers. Some little confusion may occasionally arise between the "Life Guards," generally designated as "Horse Guards,"⁽¹⁾ and the Earl of Oxford's regiment, sometimes described as the "King's Regiment of Horse," and at others as "Horse Guards." Oxford's troopers were not "Life Guards," but composed a regiment of Horse of the Household Brigade.

The officer selected by Charles II. to command the "new-rai's'd regiment of Guards" was Colonel John Russell, youngest son of the fourth Earl of Bedford. He had served in the royal army during the civil war, and was sent to the Tower with Booth in 1659, on account of his active participation in the Royalist rising. He was now in his 48th year. The regiment was called THE KING'S REGIMENT OF FOOT GUARDS, as the King was its Colonel. On the death of Lord Wentworth in 1664-5, who commanded another regiment of King's Guards, brought over to England from the garrison of Dunkirk, this regiment was incorporated with Colonel Russell's, and the strength of the united corps was raised to twenty-four companies. It was subsequently known as the 1st

The King's
Regiment.

⁽¹⁾ Among other instances, "Charles, &c., to my right trusty and well-beloved cousin John, Lord Hawley, captain of a Troop of Horse, in the regiment commanded by our right-trusty, &c., Aubrey, E. of Oxford."

Whitehall, 5th February, 1663-4.

S.P.O. Dom., Ch. II. (Mil.) No. 142.

"John Manley to be quarter-master to Sir Francis Compton's troop in our Regiment of Horse Guards commanded by our, &c., E. of Oxford." (*Ibid.*)

Foot Guards until, after a career of most distinguished service, upon the crowning victory of Waterloo, it had the distinction conferred upon it by the Prince Regent of the 1ST OR GRENADIER REGIMENT OF FOOT GUARDS. It enjoys precedence over all other regiments, being the first one raised after the Restoration, and mustered before the Coldstreams were re-admitted to the royal service, and also as being the King's Regiment. Twelve colours with royal badges were ordered by the King to be provided for the regiment on the 13th February, 1660-1⁽¹⁾. The Coldstreams were known as the Duke of Albemarle's Regiment of Foot Guards. These, from being old soldiers, appear to have come on duty before the King's Regiment—in fact, on the very day of their disbandment—if we may judge from a document in the Record Office:⁽²⁾—

“James Rocke, Adjutant to his Majest^{ties} Regiment of Foot Guards, for fire and candle for the Court of Guards, under the Banquetting House kept by his

(1) “CHARLES R. Our will, &c. We do hereby require you forthwith to cause to be made and provided twelve colours or ensigns for Our Regt. of Foot Guards of white and red taffetas, of the usual largeness, with staves, heads and tassels, each of which to have such distinctions of some of Our Royal badges painted in oyle, as Our trusted and well-beloved servant, Sir Edward Walker, Kt. Garter principal King-at-Arms shall direct, and for so doing this, &c. At Our Court at Whitehall, this 13th day of February, 1660.

“To Our, &c., Edward, Earl of Sandwich,

“Master of the Great Wardrobe.

“By his Maties. command,

“EDWARD NICHOLAS.”

Entries of Warrants. No. 110, p. 99.

Lord Chamberlain's Records. P.R.O.

(2) *Audit Off. Receipts*, bundle 48, roll 9.

Majesties Regiment of Foot Guards, under the command of Colonel John Russell from the 24th April, 1661, to 9th August, 1662, at the rate of 4s. *per diem*. Total, £94 8s."

"Colonel Ethelbert Morgan, for fire and candle for the several Courts of Guard kept by the Duke of Albemarle's Regiment of Foot Guards under the Banquetting House, and at the Tilt Yard from the 14th February, 1660-1, to the aforesaid 9th August, 1662. £52 6s. 6d."

Thus we behold, under the name of Guards, the germ of the army of Great Britain; an army which, for courage and discipline, is not surpassed by any in the world.

The first Pay Lists of the Royal Army are preserved in the Record Office, and will be found under "*State Papers (Domestic)*, Ch. II., vol. xxix., No. 45."

"An Establishment of the Forces raised by His Majestic" (endorsed "Establishment of the Forces to be raised.")

HIS MAJESTIES OWNE TROOPE OF GUARDS.

	<i>Per diem.</i>	<i>Per Mensem.</i>	<i>Per Annum.</i>
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
The Captaine	1 10 0		
Foure Lieutenants at xvs. each	3 0 0		
Cornett	0 14 0		
Quarter-master	0 9 0		
A Chaplaine at	0 6 8		
A Chyrurgion vjs. and one } horse to carry his chest ijs.)	0 8 0		
Foure Corporalls each at vjs.	1 8 0		
Foure Trumpeters each at vs.	1 0 0		
One Kettle Drum at	0 5 0		
200 souldiers at iijs.	40 0 0		
Totall	49 0 8	1,372 18 8	17,849 2 8

HIS HIGHNESS ROYALL THE DUKE OF YORKE, HIS TROOPE OF GUARDS, VIZ.

	Per diem. £ s. d.	Per Mensen. £ s. d.	Per Annum. £ s. d.
The Captaine	1 0 0		
Lieutenant	0 15 0		
Cornett	0 13 0		
Quarter-master	0 9 0		
A Chaplaine	0 6 8		
A Chyrurgion vjs., one horse } for his chest ijs. . . . }	0 8 0		
Four Corporals each at vjs.	1 4 0		
Four Trumpeters each at vs.	1 0 0		
One Kettle Drum att	0 5 0		
150 souldiers each iijs.	30 0 0		
Totall	36 0 8	1,008 18 8	13,118 2 8

HIS EXCELLENCY THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE, HIS TROOPE OF GUARDS.

(The same as the preceding one.)

FIELD and Staff Officers of a Regiment of Horse, consisting of six Troops each contayning 100 souldiers besides Officers.

	Per diem. £ s. d.	Per Mensen. £ s. d.	Per Annum. £ s. d.
Colonel as Colonel	0 12 0		
Major as Major	0 5 6		
A Chaplaine	0 6 8		
Chyrurgion iijs., and one } horse to carry his chest }	0 6 0		
Totall	1 10 2	42 4 8	551 12 8

THE COLONELL'S TROOPE.

	Per diem. £ s. d.	Per Mensen. £ s. d.	Per Annum. £ s. d.
Colonel as Captaine xs., and } two horses each at ijs. . . . }	0 14 0		
Lieutenant vjs., and two } horses each at ijs. . . . }	0 10 0		
Cornett vs., and two horses } each at ijs. }	0 9 0		
Quarter-master iijs., and } one horse ijs. }	0 6 0		
Two Trumpeters each at ijs. } viijd. }	0 5 4		
Three Corporalls each at } ijs. per diem }	0 9 0		
100 souldiers each at ijs. } viijd. per diem }	12 10 0		
Totall	15 3 4	429 13 4	5,620 13 4

THE MAJOR'S TROOPE.

	<i>Per diem.</i> £ s. d.	<i>Per Mensm.</i> £ s. d.	<i>Per Annum.</i> £ s. d.
Major as Capitaine xs., and two horses each at ijs. }	0 14 0		
Lieutenant vjs., and two horses each at ijs. }	0 10 0		
Cornett vs., and two horses each at ijs. }	0 9 0		
Quarter-master iijs., and one horse ijs. }	0 6 0		
Two Trumpeters each at ijs. viijd. }	0 5 4		
Three Corporalls each at ijs. <i>per diem</i> }	0 9 0		
100 souldiers each at ijs. viijd. p. d. }	12 10 0		
Total	15 3 4	429 17 4	5,520 13 4

	<i>Per diem.</i> £ s. d.	<i>Per Mensm.</i> £ s. d.	<i>Per Annum.</i> £ s. d.
The pay of fower troopes more to complete a Regi- ment of Horse at the same rate and numbers as are mentioned in the Major's Troope, amount- eth to. }	60 13 4	1,698 17 4	22,082 13 4
The pay of the whole Regt. of Horse is. }	92 10 2	2,590 8 8	33,675 12 8

FIELD and Staff Officers of a Regiment of Foot, consisting of ten Companies, and each Company conteyning 100 souldiers each besides Officers, as follows:—

	<i>Per diem.</i> £ s. d.	<i>Per Mensm.</i> £ s. d.	<i>Per Annum.</i> £ s. d.
Colonell as Colonell . . . }	0 12 0		
Lieut.-Colonell as Lieut. Colonell . . . }	0 7 0		
Major as Major . . . }	0 5 0		
One Chaplaine . . . }	0 6 8		
A Chyrurgion iijs., and one mate ijs. viijd. }	0 6 6		
Quarter-master and Mar- shall, to be executed by one person. }	0 4 0		
Total	2 1 2	57 12 8	744 4 8

A COMPANY OF FOOT.

	Per diem. £ s. d.	Per Mensm. £ s. d.	Per Annum. £ s. d.
Captaine	0 8 0		
Lieutenant	0 4 0		
Ensigne	0 3 0		
Two Sargeants each at is. } vj <i>d. p. d.</i>	0 3 0		
One Drummer	0 1 0		
Three Corporals at is. <i>per</i> } <i>diem</i> each	0 3 0		
100 souldiers each at x <i>d.</i> } <i>p. d.</i> whilst they quarter in London, but to have but viii <i>d.</i> if they remove. ⁽¹⁾ }	4 3 4		
Totall	55 5 4	147 9 4	1,902 1 4

GENERALL OFFICERS.

	Per diem. £ s. d.	Per Mensm. £ s. d.	Per Annum. £ s. d.
Comary Generall of the } Musters with one Clerk and fower Deputies . . . }	1 12 6	45 10 0	591 10 0
A Paymaster to the Army . . .	1 0 0	28 0 0	365 0 0
Judge Advocate to the Army } at viijs. <i>p. d.</i> , and one Clerk at ijs. <i>vjd.</i> . . . }	0 10 6	14 14 0	190 2 0
Secretary at War att	0 5 0	7 0 0	91 0 0
Totall	95 8 0		

ESTABLISHMENT of the Forces to be raised for the safety of his Mties person and Government. The yearly charge is	£ s. d. 118,528 18 8
The yearly charge of the Garrisons that are to be kept in England	67,316 15 6
In all	185,845 14 2

"The Garrisons of Dunkirk or the Garrisons in Scotland are not herein included."

Then follows another document of a similar cha-

⁽¹⁾ In 1671 the pay of the soldiers of the Foot Guards, whilst in out-quarters at Rochester, was reduced to 8*d. per diem*, the same as the line, until they returned to duty about "the Royal Person." This continued till the Revolution, when the pay of the Foot Guards was fixed at 10*d. per diem* wherever stationed.

racter endorsed "*Establishment to be mended.*" • It gives—

• The Three Troops of Guards.

• The Field and Staff Officers of a Regiment of Horse, consisting of eight troops, viz., one of eighty soldiers besides officers to His Majesty's Troop, and seven other troops of sixty.

• A Regiment of Foot, consisting of 1,200 soldiers besides officers, to be divided into twelve companies.

Field and Staff Officers of His Grace the Duke of Albemarle's, his Regiment of Foot, consisting of 1,000 men besides officers.

There is also a third list with the sign manual CHARLES R., headed—

• "An Establishment for the new rais'd forces to begin xxvi Jan., 1660. The items the same as in the preceding ones. At foot :—

• "Our Will and Pleasure is that the several officers afternamed be added to this Establishment :—

An Adjutant to Our Regiment of Foot, at iiijs. *per diem*.

An Adjutant to Our Grall's Regt. of Foot at iiijs. „

One Quarter-master to Our Regt. of Horse at vs. „

One Kettle Drummer for Our Regt. of Horse at iijs. „

CHAPTER III.

CROMWELL'S MEASURES IN 1657—THE ANGLO-SPANISH AND
ANGLO-FRENCH WAR—BATTLE OF THE DUNES—DUNKIRK
TAKEN—THE RESTORATION—HARLEY GOVERNOR OF DUNKIRK
—SUFFERINGS OF ROYALIST TROOPS—WENTWORTH COLONEL
OF THE KING'S REGIMENT OF GUARDS AT DUNKIRK—HARLEY
RECALLED, AND SUCCEEDED BY RUTHERFORD.

Oliver Crom-
well's Treaty
with France.

It has been stated that the troop of the Duke of York's Guards was sent for from Dunkirk. To explain matters, a brief retrospect is requisite. In 1656, Oliver Cromwell arranged a treaty with Louis XIV., having for its object a joint war against Spain. It provided, by a separate article, that certain Frenchmen, obnoxious to the French Government, should be perpetually excluded from the territory of the Commonwealth; and that Charles Stuart, the Duke of York, Ormond, Hyde, and other adherents of the exiled Prince, should, in like manner, be excluded from the kingdom of France.

Charles thereupon retired from France (the pension which Louis had granted to him, however, was to be continued),⁽¹⁾ and fixed his residence at Cologne, where

⁽¹⁾ "7,200 pistoles for twelve months' arrears, and 3,600 in advance." (Clarendon, *State Papers*, iii. 293.) Louis had settled on his royal cousin 6,000 francs a month (Lingard vii., Ch. iv., says, "Thirteen francs were equivalent to an English pound"), equal to about £460. But Charles and his Court were in great straits, having so many mouths to feed. "I do not know," says Clarendon, "that any man is yet dead for want of bread, which really I wonder at; I am sure the King owes for all he has eaten since April, and I am not

he remained for almost two years, till the open rupture between England and Spain called him again into activity. He proceeded to Flanders and offered himself as an ally to Spain; for, although destitute of army and navy, he had it in his power to call the British and Irish regiments in the French service to his own standard; and he possessed many faithful adherents in the English navy. With the aid of money and men, which the Spaniards bound themselves to supply in return for his services, he hoped to be enabled to contend once more for the crown of his ancestors, and to meet the usurper on English ground. Charles, having concluded this treaty, notified to the Court of France that he could no longer accept the pension which it had allowed him.⁽¹⁾

In May, 1657, Sir John Reynolds landed at Calais with an auxiliary force of six thousand men, France agreeing to contribute one half of their cost. These troops were to be placed on the footing with the most favoured regiments of France, viz., the Guards and the Swiss, whose daily pay was 5d. in money and 2d. in bread.⁽²⁾ The Protector's terms

British Auxil-
aries.

acquainted with one servant of his who hath a pistole in his pocket. Five or six of us eat together one meal a day for a pistole a week; but all of us owe for God knows how many weeks to the poor woman that feeds us." (*State Papers*, iii. 174.) "I want shoes and shirts, and the Marquess of Ormond" (afterwards Duke and Lord-Lieut. of Ireland) is in no better condition. What help then can we give our friends?" (*Ibid.*, 229. See also Carte's *Letters*, ii. 461.)

⁽¹⁾ Carte's *Life of Ormond*, iii. 656; *Ed.* 1851.

⁽²⁾ "The best common French regiments have but 2d. and bread, and most of the new have only their bread." (Thurloe, vi. 63.) Hyde writes: "Every man had a new red coat and a new pair of shoes, and they are promised to have 9d. sterling a piece a day." (*State Papers*, iii. 340.)

were a share in the spoil, and the absolute possession of Mardyke and Dunkirk, so soon as they should fall into the hands of the allies. This last stipulation was extremely distasteful to the French, recollecting as they did the thorn that Calais had proved in their sides; but the fear lest the weight of England should be withdrawn from them and cast in favour of Spain induced acquiescence. The combined force was placed under the command of Turenne, who was opposed by the Spaniards under Don Juan of Austria, a natural son of Philip IV. of Spain, with the French exiles under Condé—still unreconciled to Mazarin—and the British exiles under the Duke of York. Cromwell's troops, composed of veteran regiments, by their martial appearance and exemplary discipline, maintained the reputation of their country, and were conspicuous in their red coats; but they had at first few opportunities of displaying their prowess.

Charles and
the Duke of
York.

An attempt had been made to detach the Duke of York from his brother (Charles); and Mazarin, with the concurrence of Cromwell, instead of expelling him from France in accordance with the secret articles of the Treaty, offered him the appointment of Captain-General under the Duke of Modena, who was Generalissimo of the forces of France, Savoy, and Modena, in Piedmont. One reason weighing in the Cardinal's mind was that if the Duke quitted the French service, the Irish in the French armies would also leave: "These soldiers having accepted to serve the French King no longer than till their own Sovereign should

require their service.”⁽¹⁾ He had served with his regiment in four campaigns under Turenne, and gained considerable reputation, and he was popular, especially with the Irish subjects serving abroad. He willingly accepted the offer; his pay of Colonel, and of Commander of the Troop of Scots Gendarmes, his pension of 6,000 pistoles, and the prospective allowances of Captain-General forming an irresistible temptation. Charles peremptorily required him to refuse it, to quit the French service, and to join him immediately, which summons he obeyed. This departure was followed—as was anticipated—by that of most of the British officers in the French army, and the men generally followed their example. His pension was to be continued so long as he did not engage in actual conflict with France.

Charles's contingent consisted of above two thousand men, all of them drawn out of France, which was a double advantage to the Spaniards. These were formed into six regiments, whereof one was English, one Scotch, and the rest Irish. The first of these, composed entirely of English, was designated by the imposing title of THE KING'S REGIMENT OF GUARDS, and was commanded by Lord Wentworth,⁽²⁾ “but they were to do duty in the army as common men,

Royalist Contingent.

⁽¹⁾ Clarendon, *State Papers*, iii. 304.

⁽²⁾ Eldest son of the Earl of Cleveland. Had been high in command during the Civil War; at one time held the command of the Western army: yet Bulstrode says of him that ‘he was a very lazy and unactive man, and was not thought either of interest, experience, courage, or reputation for that trust which was devolved upon him.’ (Page 149.)

till his Majesty was in condition to bring them about his person," says Bulstrode; who adds, "the Earl of Ormond had the second regiment, the Earl of Rochester the third, and the fourth was given to the Earl of Newburgh, a Scotch nobleman, who had served the King with great fidelity.⁽¹⁾ This was probably the first arrangement, but when reinforcements arrived, and six regiments were formed, the Duke of York had one regiment of about five hundred men, of which the Lieutenant-Colonel was Cormac Maccarty,⁽²⁾ who was Colonel of an Irish regiment in the French army, and expressed his readiness to obey his legitimate Sovereign, but felt himself bound in honour to ask his pass, before he left the French service. The Duke of Gloucester, then only seventeen, had a regiment of four hundred men, with Lord Taaffe as Lieutenant-Colonel, who had been an officer in his troop of Gendarmes. Charles appointed his brother James Captain-General over the British forces, and the Spaniards raised a guard for him of fifty horse, under the command of Charles Berkley, and allowed him £200 *per mensem* for his table during the campaign.⁽³⁾ But James's French proclivities were viewed with some mistrust by the Spaniards, and the real command of the royal forces

⁽¹⁾ *Memoirs and Reflections*, p. 204. The idea of calling the King's Regiment "Guards," appears to have been Clarendon's. "I pray consider whether it be not time to propose such an encouragement for the English, as creating your regiment of Guards, which in the field will not cost them much." (*Hyde to the King; Bruges*, 15th June, 1657, in *State Papers*, iii. 344.)

⁽²⁾ Eldest son of Viscount Muskerry, son of the Earl of Clancarty.

⁽³⁾ Clarendon, *State Papers*, iii. 344.

was given to de Marsin, a French General of distinction, ⁽¹⁾ who had served under Condé. An oath of fidelity to Spain was also, with the consent of Charles, exacted from all the officers and soldiers. These matters were a source of great annoyance to James. Having completed these arrangements, Charles repaired to Brussels or Bruges, and took no personal part in the campaign, except visiting head-quarters as circumstances required.

The first advantage which Charles was enabled to obtain for the Spaniards was the re-taking of St. Ghislain, a strongly-fortified town, which had surrendered to the French army in August, 1655. ⁽²⁾ The garrison, partly composed of Irish regiments in the French service, deserted to Charles, and thus enabled the Spaniards to re-occupy the place. But James, who writes generally in a deprecatory tone, complains of the great jealousy of the Spaniards towards their English confederates, who, but for the discouragement they received, might have been twice as numerous; and that this jealousy was even fomented by Condé himself, who was afraid that if the English Infantry (which was the arm the Spaniards needed most) should become too strong, he might lose his own ascendancy. Condé made a dash, and relieved Cambray, which was invested by the French, surprising them at night, when he boldly charged through their lines and entered the town,

Jealousy of the
Spaniards.

⁽¹⁾ Charles made him a K.G. at the end of the year, and according to James's Mems., would have created him an English Earl, had not the Chancellor dissuaded him.

⁽²⁾ *James II.*, i. 259.

whereby the siege was raised. The surprise of Calais was next attempted, but the Spaniards arrived too late, for the tide had flowed, and the assault could not be delivered.

James finds fault with the indolence of the Spaniards, by which, he says, so many opportunities were lost. That Don Juan observed the same forms of gravity and seclusion in the field as at Brussels; that he always went to bed as soon as he arrived in his quarters, however early it might be; that he supped in bed; and when the army did not march he seldom stirred abroad or got on horseback; and that when he and the Marquis of Caracena were taking their siesta no one dared disturb them, however important the occasion. However, James admits that before the enemy they were foremost in exposing themselves to danger.

The Protector
Remonstrates.

On the other side, the energetic Protector viewed the operations of his allies with distrust and impatience; in fact, the French evinced no alacrity to redeem their pledge,⁽¹⁾ not being eager to strike a blow, of which the advantage would accrue to England. It was only on his repeated remonstrances that more earnest work was undertaken. In September, Mardyke was invested, carried in three days, and delivered over to Reynolds, according to the terms of the treaty. As the loss of this fortress was a serious blow, attempts were made to retake it, but without success, for the Spanish army had to sustain the fire of some English frigates in

(1) Clarendon, *State Papers*, iii. 353.

addition to that of the fort. Charles was present on this occasion, having come to advise with the Spanish commander on his private affairs; and whilst viewing the action, Ormond had his horse killed under him by a cannon-ball. The armies afterwards went into winter quarters.

The Spanish army suffered much from ague; the Duke of Gloucester had to leave in consequence, and the brave Condé's life was at one time despaired of, from the severity of the same disorder.

Ague in the Army.

Some curious details are recorded by James in his Memoirs. From his former service in the French army he had a large acquaintance with French officers; they occasionally met and exchanged compliments, and even conversed on friendly terms, *sur parole*. On one occasion, when two cavalry regiments on the Spanish side were to be on guard the next morning, one being a Spanish regiment and the other a Spanish one also, but commanded by a *ci-devant* French officer named Tourville, the French artillery officers were requested, if they opened fire, to aim at the one on the right and not at the one on the left, which was Tourville's. And they did so; several men and horses were killed of the Spanish regiment, but not a single shot went near Tourville's.

Curious Details.

De Marsin counselled the Duke not to converse so frequently with the enemy's officers, lest it might find disfavour with the Spaniards, but James continued the practice. Even Reynolds sought an interview with him; and there, amidst the sand-hills, the English General, accompanied by one officer Mr.

The Duke and Reynolds.

Crew, rode out from Mardyke and met the royal Duke, who had come forth from Dunkirk attended only by Lord Newburgh. For half an hour they talked together, Reynolds observing great courtesy towards him. James thought he would have said more had he been out of ear-shot of Crew, but they parted well satisfied with one another. It was at least indiscreet on the part of Reynolds. The matter reached the watchful ears of the Lord Protector, and he either sent for him, or the General went on his own account to give an explanation; and on his voyage home, the small vessel in which he sailed was cast away on the Goodwin Sands, and all on board perished. Lockhart was then placed in command of the Republican troops.⁽¹⁾

Ormond's Report.

Charles had postponed till winter the promised expedition for the recovery of his kingdoms. The state of England seemed in some points favourable for the attempt. Ormond in disguise, and at the greatest personal risk, went over to England and had interviews with the leading Royalists. He reported that he could not have imagined how universally hated Cromwell was, not daring to venture his army from London or to make new levies. If the King could have transported himself at once with the forces promised by Spain, he would find little opposition. But it would be of no avail

⁽¹⁾ He had been a Scotch judge; married a niece of the Protector; sent as Ambassador to France. He appears to have been an honest and capable man. Was afterwards Ambassador to France for Charles II. in 1671. Burnet says "He was both a wise and a gallant man, calm and virtuous" (*Own Times*, i. 131.)

his coming without them. That if he could land at Yarmouth he would carry the place, and at the same time bring advantage to the Spanish affairs, as Dunkirk would thereby be saved.⁽¹⁾ The Spanish ministers, however, thought otherwise, but continued to delude Charles until the opportunity had passed, and the Protector had sent some men-of-war and swept the seas of the shipping which had been prepared for the invasion.

In February of the next year Lockhart wrote to Secretary Thurloe: "the Cardinal (Mazarin) gave liberty to my Lord Douglas to raise five hundred men for the recruits of his regiment, engaged me to desire your favour to him to grant him liberty to make his leveys in Scotland."⁽²⁾ This was Lord George Douglas⁽³⁾, who commanded a Scotch regiment in the service of the kings of France, styled LE REGIMENT DE DOUGLAS ECOSSAIS, which held high rank in the French army; as it was afterwards incorporated in the British Army, and is now the first of the line, or ROYAL SCOTS, it will be further noticed hereafter. It is probably the oldest regiment in the world in consecutive royal service.

Douglas' Ecossais.

(1) *Life of Ormond*, iii. 667.

(2) Thurloe, vi. 770.

(3) Second son of the second marriage of the first Marquess of Douglas. His elder brother was created Duke of Hamilton in 1661. Page of honour to Louis XIV., afterwards entered the French army, was present at most of the battles and sieges of the period, and attained the rank of Major-General. Called to England by Charles II. in 1673, created Earl of Dumbarton in 1675, commanded the troops in Scotland against Argyle in 1685, elected one of the Knights of the Thistle on the revival of the Order in 1687; followed the fortunes of James II., and died, and was buried at St. Germain in 1692.

Then the campaign of 1658 began. The French were the first in the field. It appears that Dunkirk had been left with an insufficient garrison, whilst that of Cambray and other places had been reinforced, although Charles had pointed out, from private intelligence which he had received, that the former would be the chief object of attack. At Cassel, the French succeeded in taking the Duke of Gloucester's regiment prisoners of war.

A reinforcement of three thousand men had arrived from England. The service evidently was not popular; for Thurloe writes: "We send over 3 or 400 men at a time; it will be more easy to do it, and prevent the running away of many of them."⁽¹⁾

Dunkirk Invested.

The Duke of York's regiment with some others had been sent to occupy St. Omer, in anticipation of an attack upon that place. But about the end of May, the Spanish commanders became convinced of the intentions of Turenne; upon which the troops in Nieuport, Dixmude and Furnes (of which the Spaniards were unreasonably jealous, because they were all English, Scots, and Irish) were ordered to march with all expedition to Dunkirk⁽²⁾ in order to strengthen the garrison there, which consisted only of a thousand foot and eight hundred horse, with a very scanty supply of ammunition and provisions. But these forces arrived too late, the French were there before them, and they were unable to enter the town. There was no possibility of affording relief to the beleaguered garrison from the side of the sea, for the English

⁽¹⁾ Thurloe to Lockhart, vii. 2. ⁽²⁾ *James II.*, i. 337.

frigates under Montague had taken up a position along the coast. The only help could be given by the army, and Don Juan decided to call in his whole force, and approach as near as possible to the lines of the enemy, and to encamp among the sand-hills, to await the proper moment for attacking.

On the 12th June, the Spanish army had reached Zudcote. A strong force of four thousand horse, and some selected foot, were pushed forwards as a reconnaissance, in order to view the enemy's lines, and to select a place for encampment. Feeling the ground with some "Cravatts,"⁽¹⁾ they came on the French advanced cavalry guards, which retired, but on their supports coming up, the Spanish force had to fall back, as the Cravatts were not able to withstand a charge of Horse. In this skirmish, says James, Henry Jermyn, on the Anglo-Spanish side, and the Marquis de Blanquefort, on the Anglo-French side, were both shot through the thigh.⁽²⁾ In the course of the 13th the Spanish Army was encamped in the position selected, having the sea on their right, and the canal on their left, but their artillery and ammunition had not arrived.

⁽¹⁾ i.e., Croats or Croatians. Light active troops mounted on fleet horses; used with great advantage against the Turks. The French also had a regiment in their service. Many instances of their wild adventures are recorded, in James II.'s *Memoirs*. Their service and equipment was similar to that of Huzzars and Pandours, by which former designation these light troops were subsequently designated in the French Army, about 1692.—See Daniel, *Mil. Fran.*, ii. 517.

⁽²⁾ *James II.*, i. 341.—Jermyn was nephew of Henry Jermyn, Earl of St. Albans, the admirer, and afterwards the supposed husband of Henrietta Maria. He was afterwards Master of the Horse to the Duke of York. Created Baron Dover, 1685.—De Blanquefort was a nephew of Turenne; afterwards became Earl of Feversham.

The next morning, about five o'clock, according to the Duke of York, whose account is chiefly followed, a movement was observed in the French lines. For as soon as Turenne received intelligence of the near approach of the Spanish Army, he decided on anticipating their intentions and attacking them at once, before their preparations could be completed. The Prince de Condé, seeing the Duke of Gloucester (who had returned, cured of the distemper, which had saved him from being taken prisoner with his regiment) asked him if he had ever seen a battle. The young Duke replying that he had not, the Prince assured him that he should see one within half an hour.

Spanish and
French Ar-
mies.

The Spanish forces, which consisted of about six thousand foot, were divided into fifteen battalions, except two, drawn up in one line, the natural-born Spaniards having the right, under Caracena. In the centre were the King's and Bristol's regiments, forming one battalion together, under the command of Muskerrey, having for a reserve Richard Grace's and Newburgh's regiments, making likewise one battalion. The Duke of York's regiment was the next in line; this division was under his command. On the left were some Walloon and German battalions, forming a division under Condé. The cavalry, amounting to about four thousand, were drawn up in two lines in rear, more than half that number having with great negligence been sent out to forage, and not returning till the battle was decided.

The French forces were drawn up in two

lines of seven battalions each. In the front line, on the right, was a battalion of French Guards, next to it one of Swiss Guards; then the regiment of Picardy and that of Turenne; then three Cromwellian regiments on the left flank, extending to the sand-hills on the sea-side. Before each battalion of the front line was a body of "commanded" (selected) Musqueteers. Their second line was composed of the same number, four battalions of French and three of English. Five or six squadrons of cavalry were placed between the lines of infantry, and their wings were flanked with field pieces.

The Spanish army had the advantage of position, for it occupied the sand-hills, from which circumstance this action was called the Battle of the DUNES. It was the Cromwellian-English, led by Major-General Morgan—for Lockhart was ill, and could not leave his carriage—that began the attack. Their ardour to distinguish themselves in the presence of the two rival nations carried them considerably in advance of their allies. Don Juan, having observed the advance of the English, desired the Duke of York to come over to the right wing, which he did; and, leaving the centre, he brought with him only his own troop of guards and a hundred picked men of the King's regiment, to reinforce the Spaniards.

It was most important to maintain the position which was threatened, for it was the highest of the *dunes*, and commanded the others. So the Duke was brought in collision with his countrymen. It was Lockhart's own regiment, led by Lieutenant-colonel Fen-

wick, that was foremost. He halted them at the foot of the opposite hill, to give them breathing-time—then gave the word—the last he ever uttered (for he fell, mortally wounded), and with a cheer they scrambled up the deep sand, led by the Major (Hinton, afterwards a Captain in the Coldstreams), and, notwithstanding an obstinate resistance, cleared the mound of the Spaniards by push of pike. The victors then descended to the plain, where they were charged by the Duke with his troop of guards, and that of Don Juan. But the ground was ill adapted for cavalry, and they were beaten. Berkley was wounded, and the leading horsemen killed or wounded, the Duke himself escaping unscathed, thanks to the temper of his armour. He was fortunately enabled to draw off his own troopers, who numbered not above forty.

Lockhart's regiment then inclined to the left, and having passed behind a sand-hill suddenly reappeared, and were again close upon the Duke of York, who was assisting the Spanish officers in rallying and reforming their men. The Duke immediately desired the commanding Spanish officer to charge them in front, whilst he should attack them in flank with his troop. Unaided, however, by them, he dashed with his guards into the midst of the Cromwellians, and broke them, driving them to the edge of a sand-hill next to the shore. These stern republicans showed a mettle which elicited his admiration. "It was very observable," he says, "that when we had broken into this battalion, and were got amongst them, not so much as one single man of them ask'd quarter, or

threw down his armes: but every one defended himself to the last: so that wee ran as great danger by the butt-end of their musketts as by the volley which they had given us. And one of them had infallibly knock'd me off from my horse, if I had not prevented him when he was just ready to have discharg'd his blow, by a stroke I gave him with my sword over the face, which lay'd him along upon the ground. The Duke of Gloucester, who during the action of all that day had seconded me, and behav'd himself as bravely as any of his ancestors had ever done, had his sword either struck out of his hand, or it flew out of his hand by a blow which he had given."⁽¹⁾

But the Duke had now to retreat in all haste, for a squadron of French cavalry was sweeping round from the sand-hills on his flank. Fortunately the Prince de Ligne came up with some cavalry and charged the enemy, enabling the Duke and his troop to escape. By this time the action had commenced on the left, when Condé, after some severe fighting, was compelled to retreat by the bank of the canal. The centre was never engaged, for the regiment on its extreme left, seeing itself flanked by the French in pursuit of Condé, precipitately abandoned its position, and the example was imitated by the whole line. The Duke's Irish regiment stood its ground longer than its neighbours, but a voice from behind calling out that the Foot should save themselves, the men left their officers and ran. But being attacked by the enemy's cavalry, not an officer or man escaped, except

The French
Victorious.

⁽¹⁾ *James II.*, i. 351.

Muskerry, who was fortunate to get a horse, and galloped from the field. Grace, who commanded the regiment in rear of Muskerry's, thought it high time to endeavour to save his regiment; he marched them off in three divisions, and by good fortune got across the highway to the canal, along which he made his retreat without losing a man. The King's regiment behaved nobly. The men of Bristol's battalion, when they saw how matters were going, broke away, notwithstanding the efforts of their officers. Then these officers did the same, with one exception—Strode, an English gentleman, the Captain-lieutenant of the regiment, who came and joined himself to the King's.⁽¹⁾ These brave men, whose numbers could not have exceeded that of the immortalised band of Spartans, declined the offer of quarter made by a French colonel, whose regiment was about to charge them. "No," they replied, "we have been posted here by the Duke of York, and we shall maintain our ground as long as we are able." The colonel told them it was useless to continue their resistance, as their whole army was routed and had left the field. They did not believe it. The colonel said, "Send two officers, and I will take them to the top of a sand-hill behind, and you shall then judge for yourselves." This was done, and the officers reported that they stood alone; whereupon they agreed to lay down their arms and yield themselves

(1) "Strode received the reward of his conduct in this action by being appointed Captain of a company in the King's Royal Regiment of Guards; and twenty-eight years later, in the year 1686, he died in command of the regiment he had voluntarily joined in the hour of danger" (*Gren. Guards*, i. 27). He represented Sandwich in the Parliament of 1661.

his prisoners, provided they were not delivered up to their countrymen, nor stripped, nor searched; which conditions were accepted.

Jamès had a narrow escape; for, being surrounded and seeing no possibility of flight, he boldly assumed the character of a French officer, and threading his way, accompanied by his guards, who were now reduced to twenty, he passed through the French lines, gained the bank of the canal, and made off with all speed to Furnes. This incident, however advantageous to the escape of the Duke, proves the necessity of distinctive uniforms.

The Duke's
Escape.

The victory of the Anglo-French was complete. There seems to have been a want of cohesion in the plans of the Spanish commanders; their infantry was defeated in detail from want of support, and the cavalry failed to give assistance. The generals all behaved with great gallantry, except one man, Don Estevan de Gamarra, who was at the head of the foot. "He went away at first, and never stopt till he came to Nieuport." The Spaniards lost no guns, only because they had not arrived, and the baggage was left behind at Furnes, where the beaten army re-assembled. Fortunately for them, Turenne did not pursue the fugitives, but withdrew immediately within his lines, and continued the siege of Dunkirk, ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ One hundred and thirty-five years after, another Duke of York had to hurry away from the same place. "On the 25th of August, 1793, Frederick, Duke of York, arrived with his army before Dunkirk, after waiting long for the train of artillery necessary for the siege. A successful sortie was made by the French garrison on the 6th September, and the Duke was compelled on the 7th to raise the siege with

which capitulated within a fortnight, and Louis XIV. having taken possession of it, delivered the keys with his own hand to the English Ambassador and General, Lockhart, who was installed as its governor,

The losses of the Anglo-Spanish army were not so great as was expected, for most of the officers and men returned to their colours, some by effecting their escape, and many by giving small sums to their captors, so that when the army reached Nieuport the infantry regiments, with the exception of the King's and the Irish, were almost as strong as they were before the battle.

Change of
Plans.

Unable to oppose their enemies in the field, the Spanish generals decided upon occupying the fortified towns, where, behind the shelter of walls and with adequate garrisons, they might expect better success. Consequently James and Caracena were left in Nieuport with four thousand men, Condé went to Ostend, Don Juan to Bruges, and De Ligne to Ypres. Gravelines shortly afterwards fell into the hands of the enemy; the Prince de Ligne suffered himself to be surprised by the superior activity of Turenne; Ypres opened its gates, and all the towns on the banks of the Lys successively succumbed to the French arms.

The investment of Nieuport was postponed in consequence of the severe illness of Lewis, Mazarin having desired that no military operations should be

the greatest precipitation, suffering very great loss in his retreat, or, to speak more properly, flight. The train of heavy artillery was only landed to be lost—no less than 114 pieces falling into the hands of the enemy.”—Belsham's *George III.*, v. 75.

undertaken whilst the King lay in that condition; so the Duke was spared a siege, which he had made every preparation to sustain.

On the 3rd September Oliver Cromwell died, not universally regretted, although Thurloe wrote to Henry at Dublin, "He is gone to heaven, embalmed with the tears of his people, and upon the wings of the prayers of the saints."⁽¹⁾ But if England at home fretted under his iron rule, still her armies were victorious abroad; her fleets swept the seas, and her friendship or her alliance was sought by every power.⁽²⁾ So soon as James heard the welcome intelligence, he gave up his command in the Anglo-Spanish army, and proceeded to join his brother at Brussels. The armies shortly after went into winter quarters.

Death of the
Protector.

The Kings of France and Spain, being wearied of a long costly war, were both inclined to put an end to it. Overtures were accordingly made at the beginning of the year (1659), which were followed by a suspension of arms in May. The hopes of the English royalists were at this time raised by the expectation of a successful rising in England, and Charles and James were intent on their preparations. How when Charles's army, aided by French troops supplied by Turenne, were ready to be embarked, the capture of Booth and the suppression of the insurrection destroyed their illusions and stopped all preparations, has already been mentioned.

Overtures of
Peace.

It was arranged that a conference should be held

Treaty of the
Pyrenees.

(1) vii. 373.

(2) Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* ch. vi.

On the frontiers of the two kingdoms, on a small island near St. Jean de Luz. Charles had expectations that, as hostilities had now ceased between the two crowns, they might be brought to unite their forces for his restoration; and he was encouraged in them by the marked consideration with which he was treated, and the assurances of both ministers that his interests should be consulted in the treaty. Spain had great reason to resent the conduct of the English usurper, who had taken Jamaica and Dunkirk from them; and France was uneasy because the latter was in the hands of the English. Charles proceeded to the south to urge his interests personally with the plenipotentiaries; both promised to aid him secretly, but not in such manner as to give offence to the ruling party in England.⁽¹⁾ In the meantime the treaty, called that of the Pyrenees, was concluded, without any reference whatever to his affairs.

The Governments of France and Spain continued to play a "waiting" game, the former in accordance with its own national proverb, "*tout vient à celui qui sait attendre.*" Personally, Louis and Philip would doubtless have preferred to see one who was of the family of kings on the throne of Great Britain. Cardinal Mazarin appears to have been the chief opponent of Charles, to whom permission to reside at Paris was refused, so he took up

(1) Mazarin declined to see Charles, on the plea that he might appear as a partisan, and thus damage his interests. Don Haro made him a present of 7,000 pistoles for his present emergencies, which were great. The whole correspondence of the period shows the frightful penury in which Charles and his Court were plunged.

his residence at Brussels, then the capital of the Spanish provinces, but Caracena would not allow Charles's troops to march to the sea-side. Hollarfd would have assisted him, but she was crippled, and had to look to her own safety. Charles's regiments were still allowed to exist in Spanish Flanders, suffering much from want of pay.⁽¹⁾ The prospect looked gloomy indeed for the Royalists. Their eyes were directed towards Monck, but so artfully did he keep his own counsel that the most sanguine had their misgivings as to what his ultimate object might be.

"The hopes concerning England being now reduced to the lowest ebb in the beginning of the year 1660," are the opening words of a new chapter of the memoirs of the Duke of York.⁽²⁾ An offer, highly commendatory to his military talents, was made to him, of commanding in Spain against Portugal, and also of being their High Admiral, "a very honourable post, as well as very advantageous in point of pay, which was what the duke then wanted." He, of course, readily accepted it, with the sanction of his brother, confirming thereby the

Blighted
Hopes of the
Royalists.

(¹) Soon after the battle of the Downs, a small detachment of the King's regiment, consisting of one serjeant, one corporal, and ten men was sent under the command of Lient. Gwyn, together with three hundred Irish troops, to Ypres, to be under the command of the Prince de Ligne. Gwyn expresses annoyance that he, being one of the oldest subalterns of the regiment, should be sent in command of so insignificant a detachment. He was shortly after promoted to a company. He seems to have been the "lawyer" of the regiment, and was probably troublesome, for upon the Restoration his name no longer appears in the list of officers of the King's Regiment of Guards. (See Gwyn's *Military Memoirs*.)

(²) *James II.*, i. 381.

feeble hopes Charles entertained of a speedy restoration.

A Rapid
Change.

It was not till the end of March, soon after the dissolution of the Rump Parliament, and when, on the other side of the water, the Duke of York was preparing to set out for his command in Spain, that "Monck, for the first time, threw off that ambiguous reserve by which he had so long kept the Royalists in suspense."⁽¹⁾ Auspicious events then crowded in so rapidly that Charles was in his own country, and hailed as Sovereign by the deafening shouts of assembled multitudes, almost, as it were, by the stroke of an enchanter's wand. Monck took care to be the first to convey the good news to Charles by means of a special envoy, and also requested that the King would quit the Spanish territory, lest an attempt might be made to detain him as a hostage for Dunkirk and Jamaica. Charles, therefore, left Brussels for Breda before the time he had announced. The Duke resigned his grand preferment in Spain in anticipation of a more glorious future in England. As the tidings spread abroad, France, Holland, and the Spanish Netherlands vied in protestations of regard, and offers of a port, so lately refused, for the embarkation of the King of Great Britain. The offer of Holland was accepted; amidst acclamations, the Royal brothers passed from Breda to the Hague, and embarked on the 23rd May at Scheveling, where Montague's fleet lay ready to receive them.

Address from
Dunkirk.

It is remarkable that one of the earliest profes-

⁽¹⁾ Lister, i. 497.

sions of loyalty addressed to the King emanated from the Republican garrison of Dunkirk, probably at the instigation of Lockhart, who, being well informed as to the current of events, saw which way the stream was running, and, like a prudent mariner, resolved to head the tide; and so, "when the English Parliament had determined to recall the King, an address of obedience and acquiescence was, on the 8th May, 1660, signed by the Governor of Dunkirk and all the commissioned officers of the garrison under his command—viz., by the officers of the Governor's regiment of horse and foot, by Colonel Lillingston and his officers, by Colonel Alsopp and his officers, by the officers of four companies of Colonel Gibbon's and Colonel Evelyn's regiments, and by the officers of the train. The address was delivered to General Monek by Colonel Lillingston."⁽¹⁾

It was only natural that Dunkirk should attract the King's immediate attention. Lockhart, as general, with the garrison, had just beaten Charles's troops in the field, and as ambassador had been constantly employed—and up to the last moment—in acting against him. One of the first appointments (if not *the* first) was that of Colonel Edward Harley⁽²⁾ to be Governor

New Governor
of Dunkirk.

⁽¹⁾ *Merc. Pub.*, from May 16 to 23, 1660.

⁽²⁾ Born 1624; Colonel of a regiment in the Civil War; was wounded by a musket-shot—the ball remained in him till his death; Governor of Monmouth in 1644 (*Whitelocke's Mems.*); M.P. for Herefordshire; one of the excluded members; returned again for that county in the Convention Parliament; made a Knight of the Bath, and declined a peerage; ancestor of the Harleys, Earls of Oxford. "He approved himself such a faithful assertor of the royal cause, and was so instrumental to the restoration that, meeting the King at Dover, his Majesty made him Governor of Dunkirk" (*Collins's Peerage*, iv. 61).

of Dunkirk. The King landed at Dover on the 25th; he did not enter London till the 29th, but on the 31st May an order of the House of Commons grants leave of absence to Colonel Edward Harley "in regard to his public employment in his Majesty's service, as Governor of Dunkirke, which he is now attending."⁽¹⁾ No better appointment could have been made; his courage was distinguished, his loyalty eminent, and his integrity incorruptible. He proceeded at once to his government.

King's Dunkirk Guards.

The first movement would naturally have been to disband the garrison, but for prudential reasons, and in accordance with the Breda manifesto, the same course was followed with respect to it as had been adopted with the army at home, namely, to displace the more prominent republican officers, and to continue the rest on their former pay. Harley's commission (preserved in the P.R.O.) is printed in Collins, dated 14th July, 1660. By it authority is given him "to remove, displace, and cashiere all and everie officers and soulders in the towne and guarrison of Dunkirke, and Mardÿke, for the defence and safeguard thereof." An idea was prevalent that Lockhart had been plotting to deliver up Dunkirk to the French or Spaniards, and it is stated that Monck had recommended the appointment of Harley, as a man not to be tempted or deluded by any specious measures against his country.⁽²⁾ As a counterbalance to the republican element, orders were issued that the King's

⁽¹⁾ *Coms. Jours.*, viii. 52.

⁽²⁾ *Vindication of Monck*, in Granville, Lord Lansdowne's works, ii. 142.

Regiment of Guards—now reduced to skeleton companies in every sense, for the men were half starved—should be recruited and brought into the garrison of Dunkirk. It had been quartered at Nivelles; and when there, Gwyn says, “We were a tedious time without money, and the officers gave the souldiers passes to go a-begging, so a petition was prepared by me to our Lieut.-Colonel” (Wheeler), “and another to my Lord Wentworth, to present it to his Majesty.”

“A copy of a letter I writt to my Lord Wentworth on behalf of the regiment:—

“Rt. Honourable,—The best news we have had from England since the King's most happy restoration is that your lordship commands his Majesty's Royal Regiment of Guards. We are left scarcely one part of four when at Dunkirk battell entirely devoted themselves to be sacrificed for our King's sake. But having escaped the worst beyond our hope, as to be prisoners, three-parts of us have perisht with a tedious imprisonment and want of bread, and the few remaining here languish as having no allowance to live.”⁽¹⁾

The finances of the Spanish Government were at this time grievously affected by the continuous state of warfare, but a better reception than that which Gwyn describes might have been afforded to their late comrades in arms. “When we removed our garrison from Nievell (Nivelles) to Norman (Namur), General Corasien” (Caracena; the gallant writer was independent of orthography) “sent orders to the magistrates and burghers of the town to let them

⁽¹⁾ Gwyn's *Mil. Mems. of the Great Civil War*, p. 127.

know that the King of Brittaines Regiment of Guards was coming to quarter there, and that they were to give them no other accommodations than vacant houses upon the ramparts and Court of Guards, and were to expect their whole subsistence from their own King, being restored to his Kingdom."

Lord Wentworth afterwards wrote from London, informing them he was their Colonel (he must, consequently, have received a new commission, as he had been previously their Colonel), and advising them to send a petition to the King, which he would present. The advice was followed, and the petition was forwarded, signed by twenty-one officers. Gwyn takes occasion to mention in the petition: "When Dunkirk came to your Majesty's town and guarrison, the regiment of Guards came first to quarter there, and the officers put on half-pay."

The Duke's
Troop of
Guards.

On the 13th June, "H.R.H. the Duke of Yorke, Lord High Admirall of England, moved their Lordships of the Privy Council, that his Highness troope of Guards, consisting of one hundred horsemen, besides officers, of his Majesty's Protestant subjects, at present in the King of Spaine's dominions, might be drawn into and provided for in his Majesty's towne and garrison of Dunkirque," to which their Lordships agreed.⁽¹⁾ On the 29th June it was ordered by the House of Commons, "That the troop of Guards to his R.H. the Duke of York be added to the establishment of the army." There is no order of a similar character in respect to the King's regiment of Guards,

⁽¹⁾ Registers of the Privy Council, *sub anno*.

from which it may be inferred that there was an intention to bring the Duke's troop to England, but that the latter corps was to be kept up at the expense of the King, if he chose to retain it. In consequence of these additions, Harley presented a petition to the Privy Council as to the expense of the garrison of Dunkirk, which was referred to the Commons, who thereupon appointed a Committee to take into consideration the establishment, and what number of men should be continued there; and it was ordered that the officers and soldiers of the garrison of Dunkirk be enjoined to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. On August 24th, the Committee reported that in their opinion "the forces in the garrison of Dunkirk should consist of 3,600 Foot, to be put into two regiments; each regiment to consist of 1,800 men, to be divided into twelve companies. That there be also one regiment of Horse, to consist of 432, to be divided into six troops; and that the pay and entertainment of the Governor and garrison be paid out of the moiety of the whole excise of beer and ale." This recommendation, and subsequent resolution of the House, do not seem to have been carried out, as will appear from the documents relating to the garrison at the time that Dunkirk was sold to the French two years afterwards. The Duke of York's regiment was brought into the garrison, and the regiment of the late Duke of Gloucester, now given to Viscount Taaffe,⁽¹⁾ and the King's Guards,

(1) Created Earl of Carlingford, 1662.—"Warrant to pay the regiment of Irish Foot, consisting of ten companies, together with their

were raised to the amount of twelve hundred and eighty-six men.⁽¹⁾ It was ordered that twelve stands of colours should be provided for the regiment, the same as those supplied to Colonel Russell's regiment.⁽²⁾

On the 24th October, 1660, there is an entry in the Register of the Privy Council of a request to the Duke of York, as Lord High Admiral, to provide shipping to transport one thousand soldiers to Dunkirk. "It being determined that one thousand foot soldiers out of the regiments now disbanding in England, be sent over towards recruiting that garrison to the number allowed by the last establishment, and

officers, under the command of Lord Taafe at Dunkirk, according to muster to be passed there by order of Lord Rutherford."—October 19th, 1661. S. P. O. Warrant Book, vol. i., p. 99.

(1) "Thomas Lord Wentworth, Collonel of the Regiment of his Majties. Guards at Dunkirk, £1,928 17s. 4d., as per account for providing the aforesaid Regiment with the following items: viz., 505 Buffe Coats (for pikemen) at the rate of 30 shillings each £757 10 0
783 red tunics at 20 shillings each 783 0 0
For embroidery 24 red tunics for drummers 24 0 0
And for 1,286 hats at 5s. 8d. each 364 7 4

Total 1,928 17 4

25 OCT., 1661. P.R.O. EXCHEQUER OF RECEIPT.

Issue Book, 13 & 14, Car. ii., fol. 22.

A previous warrant grants "£275 to the Earl (*sic*) of Wentworth for recruiting H.M. Regt. of Guards now in the garrison of Dunkirk to 1,100 men, to be by him forthwith levied at the rate of 5s. per man."

Signet Office, Docquet Book, 1669.

(2) "CHARLES R.—To Charles Wheeler, Esq., Lieut.-Colonel of our Regt. of Foot Guards in Dunkirk. Twelve colours of the same sort as those of Colonel Russell, for the use of our said Regt. in Dunkirk."—16th day of March, in the 13th year of our reign; p. 123. "Warrant for painting of twenty-five drums for our Regt. of Foot Guards in Dunkirk.—2nd day of June, in the 13th year of our reign;" p. 182. *Lord Chamberlain's Records*.

estimated that the charge of conduct of them to the waterside will amount unto £250. Order to be given for the payment of that sum to Colonel Harley, governor of the garrison of Dunkirk, for and towards the charges of conducting the said thousand soldiers in their march to the waterside, to be shipped there for the said garrison."

Cromwell's acquisitions of Dunkirk and Jamaica had not yet been formally annexed to the British Crown, and an Act of Parliament was passed on the 11th September, 1660, "for annexing Dunkirk and Mardyke in Flanders, and the Island of Jamaica in America, to the Crown of England."

Harley was not retained long as Governor of Dunkirk. The fact was that Charles had ceased to be an independent sovereign. He had been caught in the toils of the greatest of money-lenders—Louis XIV. The British Monarch found his necessary expenditure far in excess of income, and had recourse to the tempting offers made to him by his cousin of France, communicated to the Lord Chancellor through Bastide, the French envoy. Clarendon was a man of rigid private integrity—exceptionally so, in those corrupt times. He indignantly scorned to accept a bribe for himself,⁽¹⁾ but it is one of the gravest faults which he committed as an adviser of the Crown, that he sanctioned such a system, which reduced his sovereign to a pensioned dependant on the King of France. It is not to be supposed that this was an act of spontaneous generosity on the

Harley removed.

(1) *Clar. St. Papers*, iii., Supp. i.

part of Louis, but done with a deep purpose of advancing his own political interests. The chief objects of Bastide's mission were communicated to the Chancellor, one being that in any alliance made with the Dutch, the treaty should be approved of by both Crowns, and the other the humiliation of Spain.⁽¹⁾ In this communication the utmost secrecy was necessary, for these two countries were highly popular in England, while France was hated. Another purpose which Louis had in view—although it does not appear to have been mentioned at this conference—was the possession of Dunkirk. The needy Charles must have felt that the support of the garrison there was a very heavy burden on him, and to be quit of it on good terms would be a great relief. Now Harley was “a man of public spirit, firm to the interests of his country, and not to be biassed, tempted or deluded to be assisting in anything contrary to it.”⁽²⁾ He was clearly an obstacle to any negotiations, and he was therefore recalled, 25th May, 1661. His conduct appears to have given some umbrage to the French authorities. The Chancellor wrote: “The Governor of Dunkirk excuses himself for having followed the precedent of his predecessors, who, it seems, issued out the same warrant in terms without the least thought of proceeding to any violent action upon it, which you may be sure the King will never suffer. The King hath now placed a Governor there, well known in France,

(1) *Ibid.*, iii., Supp. xi.

(2) Lord Lansdowne, ii. 141.

the Lord Rutherford, who will better know how to live with his neighbours.”⁽¹⁾

Sir Edward Harley had, during his short tenure of office, recruited the garrison to its full complement, and begun many fortifications, which were afterwards perfected by the French.⁽²⁾ He is also stated to have saved £10,000 as a reserve against a siege or other exigency. Altogether his conduct was so honourable that the King gave him a very gracious release. He had been made a K.B. during his absence, and, it is stated, without his knowledge, for he declined any advancement in rank. The appointment of his successor⁽³⁾, a man unknown in England,

⁽¹⁾ *Clar. St. Papers*, iii. Sup., p. viii.

⁽²⁾ Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, ch. vii.

⁽³⁾ Andrew, son of Wellington Rutherford, of Quarry-Holes, “borne and bracht up in Edinburgh,” says Nicolls in his *Diary*, p. 404, went young into the service of France, and became Colonel of the Regiment of *Gardes Ecossaises*. At the Restoration he brought over an honourable testimony from Louis XIV., and was made a Baron of Scotland, and subsequently Governor of Dunkirk. In 1663 advanced to the Earldom of Teviot, for his services at the sale of that place. Afterwards appointed Governor of Tangier, and killed by the Moors in 1664. Dying without issue, his Earldom became extinct, but the Barony of Rutherford descended according to the patent, to Sir Thos. Rutherford, of Hunt Hill. Daniel (*Mil. Fran.*, ii. 328) has the following notice of him: “*Le Colonel que le commandoit (Gardes Ecossaises) s'appelloit Rutterfoord, homme de mérite, et qui servit fort bien dans les troupes de France, jusqu'à la paix des Pyrenées. Quand le Roy Charles ii., fut rétabli sur le Trône d'Angleterre, il nomma Rutterfoord Gouverneur de Dunkerque. * * Le Roy, après que Rutterfoord se fut retiré, cassa le Regt. et incorpora les subalternes et les soldats qui voulurent servir en France, dans le Regt. de Douglas.*”—Lockhart wrote to Thurloe, 9th Jan. 1657: “Col. Rutherford being now on his journey to Scotland, to make his levy of the 500 men by your Lordship's favour the last summer granted to him, entreats your Lordship on his behalf, that he might obtain your additional order for 300 or 400 more. He being a person whose discreet conduct hath gained a good reputation in France, where he hath been an honour to his country.”

had clearly the object of being acceptable to Louis. Clarendon, in June, 1661, mentions that the King was advised never to part with Dunkirk to the Spaniards,⁽¹⁾ but in the following month Charles II., in a conversation with D'Estrades (then Ambassador to the English Court) endeavoured to enhance the importance of the place in a tone which suggested to the acute diplomatist the existence of ulterior views.⁽²⁾

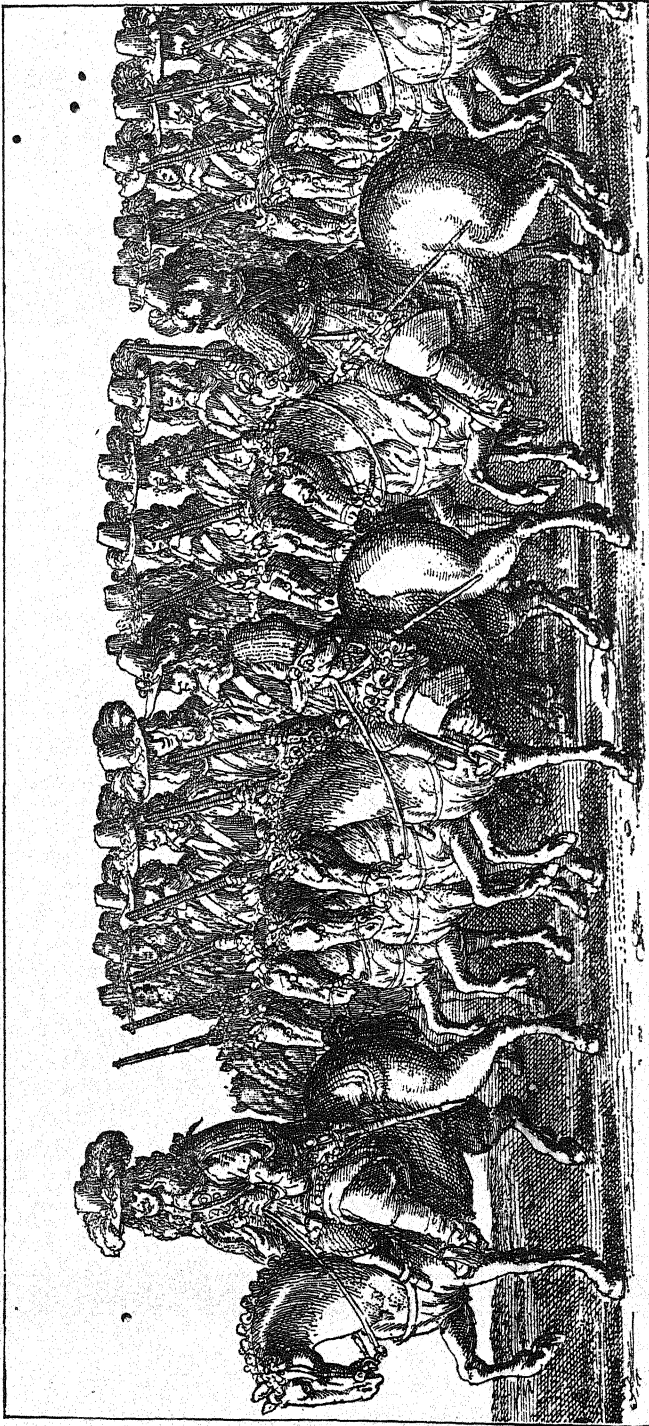
Coronation.

On the 23rd April, 1661, Charles II. was crowned, and the event was celebrated with great pageantry and magnificence. On the preceding day the King went by water to the Tower, in order to proceed in state on the morrow through the city to Westminster, and his noble deportment was much admired as he rode along. At Leadenhall Street the East India Company, just gratified by the grant of a new charter, made an appropriate demonstration of groups of Indians and camels; and thence under triumphal arches, amidst shouting of the people, cheering of the Blue-coat Boys at St. Paul's, and deafening sounds of music, with the surprise of a *bocage* at Temple Bar, full of wild beasts and tame, the streets all gravelled, and the houses hung with tapestry, the Royal cavalcade wended its way to the Abbey.⁽³⁾ In Ogilby's illustration it will be seen (Pl. I.) that the Duke of York's troop of Life-Guards

⁽¹⁾ *Clar. St. Papers*, iii. Supp. x.

⁽²⁾ D'Estrades, i. 123. Lister's *Clarendon*, ii. 167.

⁽³⁾ Pepys and Evelyn. Ogilby's *Coronation of Charles II.* The procession is also depicted in a curious contemporary painting by Stoop, lately at Goodrich Court, now in the possession of Mr. Graves,



THE DUKE OF YORK'S TROOP OF HORSE GUARDS.
From Ogilby's *Coronation of Charles II.*

in ranks of six, preceded by their kettle-drums and trumpets, heads the procession. The Body-Guard of Pensioners and Yeomen surrounds the King, and his troop of Life-Guards, with that of Albemarle, are there. The road from the Tower to Aldgate was kept by the Militia of the Tower Hamlets, and thence to Temple Bar by the Train-bands on one side, and the Liveries on the other. From that point to Westminster they were lined by the Train-bands of that Liberty and City, and by His Majesty's two regiments of Foot.

On the 30th September a disgraceful affray occurred in the struggle for precedency between the rival ambassadors of France and Spain on their landing at the Tower Wharf. There is an account of it in a state paper preserved in the Public Record Office, Dom., Ch. II., vol. 42, No. 50, entitled :—

A Fight for
Precedence.

“A true relation of the dangerous dispute and bloody conflict between the Spaniards and French at Tower Wharf and Tower Hill.”

“On Monday, 30th September, 1661, an Ambassador from the Crown of Sweden landed at the Tower Wharf, and had an honourable reception from His Majesty the King of Great Britain; his own royal regiment being up in arms, and three companies thereof placed at Tower Hill, viz., His Majesty's own company, with the crown in the royal colours; the second, the rose and crown, and the

of Pall Mall. “Virtue describes a picture,” says Walpole, “seven feet wide and two high, containing the King's cavalcade through the gates of the City the day before his coronation” (*Anecdotes of Painting*, i. 521).

third, the fleur-de-lis and crown. Besides those three companies of Foot, His Royal Highness the Duke of York's Life Guard of Horse."

Evelyn was appointed by the King to inquire into the matter, and to present a written narrative of it to him, which is printed at the end of his Diary. It appears that the Ambassadors' carriages were drawn up near the Tower Wharf at an early hour to await the arrival of their masters. The French Ambassador's coach (wherein was his son, the Marquis D'Estrades, with several other of his gentlemen) was attended by a retinue of about one hundred and fifty persons, whereof above fifty were horsemen well appointed with pistols, and some of them with carbines, musketoons or fuzes. The Spanish Ambassador's coach (Baron de Batteville's) with his chaplain and others, was accompanied by about forty of his servants. At three o'clock the representatives of royalty landed, it is to be hoped from different conveyances. The Swedish Ambassador (Count Brahé) was accorded the place of honour, and entered into the King's coach, which moved off leisurely before the rest. Then came the struggle for the second place: the French coach was gaining ground, when the Spaniards shouted, which frightened the French horses, and caused them to pause, of which the Spaniards took advantage, and their coach advanced. Upon this the French attacked the Spanish retinue; swords were used, and shots fired. During the *mêlée*, some one took the opportunity of cutting the ham-strings of two of the French horses, and wounding a third, so that the

progress of the coach was effectually arrested. The coachman was knocked off the box, and the postilion mortally wounded; several other persons were wounded, and some slain. During this time many brickbats were thrown, possibly by the English spectators, but any interference by them was summarily stopped by the Royal Guards, according to their orders. After a half-hour's delay, the Spanish coach went forward after that of His Majesty (which had apparently waited till the contest was over) and in about the same time afterwards the French coach followed, drawn by only two horses. The retinues, however, continued to skirmish along the route as far as Crutched Friars, when they desisted, and the procession passed on, the Life Guards following immediately in rear of the last Ambassador's coach.

It is evident that a conflict was anticipated, and the King, in order to avoid all complication or any apparent partiality, adopted the prudent course of letting them fight it out among themselves, and issued strict orders to the Guards to take no part whatever in the fray, and to prevent all interference from the bystanders, who would—had they followed their inclinations—probably have sided with the Spaniards, for Pepys says on the occasion: "We do naturally all love the Spanish and hate the French."

CHAPTER IV.

RE-FORMATION OF THE MILITIA IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND.

Militia re-modelled.

1661.—On the 8th May the new Parliament met, and one of its first Acts was to bring in “a Bill for Settling the Militia,” with a recognition of the ancient prerogative, that the sole right to command and regulate the whole military force of the realm resides in the Crown. The 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 3, entitled “An Act for ordering the Forces,” &c., proceeds upon the following preamble:—“Forasmuch as within all His Majesty’s realms and dominions, the sole and supreme power, government, command, and discipline of the Militia, and of all forces by sea and land, and of all forts and places of strength, is, and by the laws of England ever was, the undoubted right of His Majesty and His royal predecessors, and that both or either of the Houses of Parliament cannot nor ought to pretend to the same; nor can, nor lawfully may, raise or levy any war, offensive or defensive, against His Majesty, his heirs, or lawful successors, &c.” And by the same statute it was ordained that all lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, officers, and soldiers, should take the following oath:—“I do declare and believe that it is not lawful, upon any

pretence whatever, to take arms against the King; and that I do abhor that traitorous position that arms may be taken by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him in pursuance of such military commissions."

The recent experience of the nation justified the propriety of imposing on the military this implicit renunciation of the doctrine of resistance; but so strongly had the current of opinion set towards royalty, that the Corporation Act rendered it obligatory upon every individual holding office to take the same oath. To intend or devise the King's imprisonment, bodily harm, or deposition, or to levy war against him, was declared to be high treason. To affirm him to be a Papist or Heretic, or to endeavour, by speech or writing, to alienate his subjects' affections from him, was held sufficient to incapacitate the individual for any employment in Church or State.

The House proceeded to remodel, or, as it was termed, to "settle" the Militia. There were then—as since—those who sneered at the clownish soldiering of the English peasantry.⁽¹⁾ "Enlightened patriots," says Macaulay, "when they contrasted these rude levies with the battalions which, in time of war, a few hours might bring to the coasts of Kent or Sussex, were forced to acknowledge that,

(1) So Dryden:

"In peace a charge, in war a weak defence.
Stout once a month they march, a blustering band,
And ever, but in time of need, at hand."

Cymon and Iphigenia.

dangerous as it might be to keep up a permanent military establishment, it might be more dangerous still to stake the honour and independence of the country on the result of a contest between ploughmen, officered by justices of the peace, and between warriors led by marshals of France.”⁽¹⁾ But the Militia was an institution eminently popular, whilst the standing army, small as it was, was already mistrusted. The reason for this difference of feeling towards the two forces is manifest. The Militia was under the immediate influence of the English aristocracy, and made up of men having other subsistence than their pay. The officers were not courtiers, and they owed their allegiance rather to the institutions of the country than to the King. Moreover, there was scarcely a baronet or a squire in Parliament who did not owe part of his importance in his own county to his rank in the Militia.⁽²⁾ With regard to the army, the case was the reverse: its existence was wholly dependent on the pleasure of the Crown. Its pay and subsistence, as well as the appointment and promotion of its officers, rested with the Sovereign. “The army, therefore, became as dependent upon the Crown as the Crown was upon the army; and the Militia became a counterpoise to the standing army, and a national security.”⁽³⁾ Parliament, therefore, firmly held the Militia under

⁽¹⁾ *History of England*, i. 291.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, ii. 5.

⁽³⁾ Clode's *Military Forces of the Crown*, i. 37. The independence of the Militia has now been destroyed; its officers, by the warrant of 1871, being appointed by the Secretary at War.

THE BRITISH ARMY.

CHAPTER I.

THE ARMY OF THE COMMONWEALTH, FROM RICHARD CROMWELL
TO THE RESTORATION.

THE Restoration of Monarchy and the accession of Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors inaugurate a fresh and remarkable epoch in the history of Great Britain. The attempt at popular government, after a trial of eleven years and four months, had signally failed. That iron hand and unbending will, which had awed dissentients at home and made Europe tremble, had passed away, leaving none to inherit them. Richard Cromwell had succeeded to the Protectorate, because his father was said to have intimated a wish to that effect on his death-bed, power having been granted to him to nominate his successor in his lifetime ; ⁽¹⁾ although such a privilege appears anomalous in one who owed his elevation to hatred of hereditary monarchy, the compliance with it is a proof that men even in those days were in favour of a settled succession.

The Protectorate.

⁽¹⁾ *Commons' Journals*, March 3, 1656. Lingard (*u.*, vol. vii., ch. v., p. 178) raises a doubt as to whether the Lord Protector nominated any one.

Richard Cromwell.

Richard—a young man without energy or ambition—had greatness thrust upon him by his father, who had made him Chancellor of the University of Oxford and a member of the new House of Peers; but he was better suited for the life of a country gentleman, which his tastes had led him to adopt, than that of a politician.⁽¹⁾ His younger brother Henry had received a different education; he had accompanied his father to the battle-field, had entered the army, and at the age of twenty, without any special merit, had found himself, like a young aristocrat, captain of the Life Guards of Fairfax, the Lord-General. Under the Protectorate he had been appointed, with the rank of Major-General, to the Government of Ireland, succeeding Fleetwood, who had married one of Cromwell's daughters (Ireton's widow). Fleetwood, although a brave officer, was a weak-minded man, so that the Protector preferred employing him under his own supervision in England. Henry was an amiable young man, not destitute of capacity, and acquired much popularity by his equitable administration of Ireland; but he wanted decision. Had he been ambitious and intriguing, he might easily have supplanted his brother.

Installation.

The installation of Richard was in every respect regal except in name, proclamation being made in great state at the usual places in London. "Whereas it had pleased God by his providence to take away the most serene and most illustrious Oliver, Lord-

⁽¹⁾ "Richard was a peasant in his nature, yet gentle and vertuous, but became not greatnesse." (*Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, p. 336.)

Protector, who, according to the Petition and Advice, in his lifetime had declared the most noble and illustrious his son, the Lord Richard Cromwell, to be his successor: the Council, the Lord Mayor, the officers of the army, therefore, do heartily and unanimously acknowledge the said Lord Richard as rightful Protector and chief Magistrate, and do require all persons to yield obedience, beseeching God, by whom Princes reign, to bless him with long life, and the nations under him with peace and happiness." (1)

The language here made use of savours little of Republicanism. Addresses flowed in from all parts of the country, couched in terms of dutiful allegiance, and foreign ministers hastened to pay the new Protector the usual compliments, so that Richard felt no hesitation in accepting the proffered inheritance.

The Royalists had entertained sanguine expectations that the death of the great usurper would be likewise the dissolution of the Commonwealth; and that the discontent of the people, which had been ripe for some time past, would culminate in the restoration of Monarchy. They were therefore grievously disappointed at the general acquiescence in the succession of the son.

But the calm was not destined to endure. The superior officers of the army, who had been the instruments of Oliver's supremacy, and his *bêtes noires* ever since, were the first to show an openly disaffected

The Royalists.

Republican Officers.

(1) Heath's Chron., 410. Kennett, iii. 211.

spirit. They held meetings at Wallingford House,⁽¹⁾ Fleetwood's residence, where the nomination of Richard by his father was questioned, and resolutions were passed that, as the Commonwealth was the work of the army, so the chief office in it belonged to the Commander of the army. It was in that capacity that Oliver Cromwell had been invested with the Protectorship; but his son had never drawn his sword in the cause, and to suffer the supreme power to devolve on him was to disgrace those who had suffered and bled in the contest.

Richard Cromwell.

Richard's first act of government was to summon a Parliament to meet on Jan. 29th, 1659. A hazardous experiment after the experience of his father's lifetime. The exhaustion of the Treasury—the pay of the army and navy being in arrear, and doubtless the hope of finding a counterpoise to the intimidations of the military—impelled him to the step. The Wallingford House Junta⁽²⁾ called together a general council of officers, where the grievances and demands of the army were embodied in “a humble representation and petition” setting forth the design entertained by some in power to ruin the army and “the good old cause,” and desiring his Highness to advise with the Parliament and to provide an effectual remedy. The Protector received the deputation that presented this document; it was then laid upon the table of the House of Commons, and there it

⁽¹⁾ The site of the present Admiralty.

⁽²⁾ “A tumultuous junto,” Price calls it. See his “Mystery of H.M. Happy Restauration,” in *Miserere's Tracts*.

remained. The Council, finding no notice taken of it, assumed a bolder tone, and demanded that the appointment of the Commander-in-Chief should be vested in the chief officers of the army. Upon this the Commons passed a resolution, "That no military meetings should be held without the consent of the Protector and both Houses of Parliament, and that the command of the army was vested in these three estates, to be exercised by the Protector."

This was regarded as a declaration of war. It was necessary that one or the other should succumb. The dissolution of Parliament was at once decided upon as an indispensable preliminary. The Protector was waited upon at Whitehall by a deputation, and informed that the Parliament must be dissolved either by him or by them. He might make his election. If he chose the former alternative, the army would provide for his dignity and support; if the latter, he must abide the consequences. The matter admitted of no delay; Richard hesitated, but not having courage to withstand the pressure, dissolved Parliament.

The officers now being in the ascendant, debated what form of government they should establish. They would naturally have preferred a stratocracy, but believing that the people would with great difficulty be constrained to pay taxes levied by the arbitrary power of the sword, they resolved, in order to preserve the semblance of civil authority, to invite the members of the Long Parliament, who had been ignominiously expelled by Oliver in 1653,

to reassemble. It was expected that they would act in dutiful subordination to those who had been the means of reinstating them.

The members acquiesced, and the House met on the 9th May. "A Committee of Safety," as it was termed, was appointed, "most of them soldiers," says Whitelocke;⁽¹⁾ and on the 13th a "Council of State" of thirty-one members, consisting of Lord Fairfax, Lambert, Disbrowe, and twelve other military officers, and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper,⁽²⁾ Bradshaw, Whitelocke, and thirteen other civilians.

Richard De-
posed.

During these proceedings the Protector was utterly ignored; in fact, he was virtually deposed when the Parliament was dissolved. Being urged by the House of Commons on May 25th, he expressed his willingness to resign; so he was allowed privilege of freedom from arrest for six months; his private debts were cancelled, and a gratuity of £2,000 was presented to him.

Military Dic-
tation.

The Government at first depended for its existence on the goodwill of the army in London. Subsequently it obtained promises of support from the forces at a distance. Monck and the officers of his army in Scotland wrote a letter, expressed (perhaps with a covert sneer) in that approved scriptural phraseology which formed the shibboleth of the Puritan faction, congratulating the members of Parliament on their restoration, and commending to their care his Highness and his family.⁽³⁾ There

⁽¹⁾ *Memorials*, 678.

⁽²⁾ First Earl of Shaftesbury. The "Achitophel" of Dryden.

⁽³⁾ *Collection of General Monck's Letters* I. 1.

was still the army of Ireland, which Henry Cromwell had commanded for four years; but he hesitated as to the course he should adopt. It is asserted that he actually promised to proclaim Charles II., but that his heart failed him.⁽¹⁾ While he wavered, the Castle of Dublin was surprised by Sir Hardress Waller; he thereupon signified his submission to the Speaker, and he was permitted to retire into the obscurity of private life.⁽²⁾ The civil administration of the island was committed to five commissioners, and the command of the army to Ludlow, with the rank of Lieutenant-General.⁽³⁾ From this time the name of the Cromwells disappears from the page of history.

The military clique in London now attempted to dictate to the Parliament, but the members evinced a spirit of independence. They debated the reconstruction of the Constitution and the remodelling of the army. Fleetwood was appointed Commander-in-Chief, but the duration of the office was limited, and made revocable at the pleasure of Parliament. This at once raised a storm of discontent among the general officers, who decided on another dissolution; but their action was restrained—at all events, delayed—by apprehensions of danger from the common enemy.

The exiled Charles was anxiously watching the course of events in England; and his zealous friends kept him perfectly informed as to the posture of

Royalist
Hopes.

⁽¹⁾ Hyde to Ormond, in Carte's *Original Letters*, ii. 242.

⁽²⁾ His autograph letter of resignation is preserved in Harl. MSS., No. 7,502, fol. 21.

⁽³⁾ *Commons' Journals*, July 18, 1659.

affairs. The country being now without a settled Government, and split into various factions, the Royalists flattered themselves that the rivalry and dissensions of the enemies of Monarchy would bring about that issue which its supporters could not have effected, and that the restoration of the ancient line of princes to the throne would be hailed as an overthrow of that tyranny which, whether civil or military, was hateful and odious to the country.

Charles himself thought that the time had arrived for taking some energetic step. He announced to the leaders of the Royalists his intention of coming over to England and hazarding his life among them. With this view he proceeded to Brittany, in order to procure a passage into Wales or Cornwall. Turenne offered the Duke of York the assistance of his own regiment of foot of 1,200 men, and the Scots' gendarmes,⁽¹⁾ also three or four thousand spare arms, six field-pieces, provisions for 5,000 men, and vessels to transport them. The design was to land at Rye, and if the country should support him, to take possession of Maidstone and Rochester.⁽²⁾ The 1st of August, 1659, was fixed for the attempt at a general rising.

These plans became known to the Executive Council in July, and precautionary measures were immediately adopted. It was decided that fourteen regiments, each of one thousand men, should be

⁽¹⁾ Gendarmes Ecossais, of which the Duke of York was Captain. (See Daniel, *Mil. Fran.*, ii. 244.)

⁽²⁾ Clarke's *Life of James II.*, i. 376, from the original Stuart MSS. Carte's *Life of Ormond*, iii. 683, ed. 1851.

forthwith raised, and that the militia should be called out. Numerous arrests were made in London and elsewhere. In some counties the royal standard was unfurled; but the movement was suppressed by the local authorities, except in Cheshire; there Sir George Booth,⁽¹⁾ one of the excluded members, met with some success. He seized the town of Chester, and forced the Parliamentary garrison to retire into the castle. This was sufficient to alarm the Government; for the union of the Presbyterians and Cavaliers was a dangerous feature. Booth, however, was careful not to make mention of the King, but called upon the people to choose their representatives freely, who should sit without being controlled by military violence. That was all he professed to demand.

The Council of State appointed Lambert to proceed to Chester with a strong division of troops.⁽²⁾ Upon this the insurgents evacuated Chester. Lambert overtook them near Delamere Forest, and defeated them, after a short action at Winnington Bridge, on the 19th August.⁽³⁾ Three hundred prisoners were made; Booth escaped from the fight, but was afterwards arrested and lodged in the Tower. The designs of the Royalists were frustrated, and the preparations on the other side of the water were brought to an end. It does not appear that the people of England at this time felt any interest in the King's cause.

Defeat of
Booth.

⁽¹⁾ Second Baronet of Dunham Massey, Cheshire. Created Lord Delamere at the Restoration; d. 1684.

⁽²⁾ Whitelocke, 652.

⁽³⁾ Ormerod's *Cheshire*, i. 210.

The military faction was now more domineering than ever, seeing that the real power lay with the sword. The Parliament voted £1,000 to Lambert; but inadmissible demands being made on the House, Fleetwood and other prominent officers were dismissed from their commands.

On the next day, October 13th, Lambert marched a body of troops to Westminster and expelled the Members. The "Rump," seeing that resistance was hopeless, yielded to the force of circumstances and withdrew. Thus the supreme authority again devolved on the chief officers of the army. A Committee of Safety, consisting of twenty-three members, was selected. Fleetwood was appointed—or appointed himself—Commander-in-Chief, and Lambert, Major-General of the forces in England.

It may easily be supposed that this *coup d'état* was regarded with feelings of strong reprobation by the country at large. There was, in fact, no Government; confusion reigned everywhere, and the action of the nation was paralysed. The thought may have occurred to many whether a return to Monarchy were not the solution of the dilemma; but the King's name was not then a tower of strength, nor was it ever heard—except among his immediate adherents—the country was not yet prepared for royalty.

George Monck.

One man specially—himself of high military fame—did not brook the despotism of his brother-officers in London; and commanding, as he did, the forces in Scotland, was in a position to give effect to his

dissatisfaction. George Monck⁽¹⁾ was born in 1608; at the age of sixteen he betook himself to the naval or military profession—for between the two there was formerly no distinction⁽²⁾—and embarked as a volunteer in the unsuccessful expedition to Cadiz in 1625, serving with his near relative, Sir Richard Greenville, who was Lieut.-Colonel of Sir John Borough's regiment. In 1627 he joined as Ensign the disastrous expedition to the Isle of Ré.⁽³⁾ His ardour, however, was not abated by so unfortunate an initiation, he only sought a better school of arms, and joined the British auxiliaries in the Netherlands; he commanded a company in Goring's regiment, and subsequently rose to be Colonel. For ten years he served there with distinction, but on the breaking out of hostilities between Charles I. and the Scotch, in 1639, he returned to England, partly impelled by the hope of promotion in his native country, where soldiers of fortune like him were welcomed to discipline and command the raw levies, and partly annoyed at some real or fancied ill-usage at Dort. He obtained a Colonel's commission in the Royal army, and accompanied the King in both his expeditions to the north. When the rebellion broke out in Ireland in 1641, Monck was despatched thither

(1) His name is variously printed Monk and Monek; the latter is here adopted on the authority of his autograph signature.

(2) An illustration of the identity of the Services, mentioned by Macaulay (i. 300), is furnished by General Monek himself. When in command of a ship of war, instead of giving the word "port," he used to say, "wheel to the right," as if at the head of his regiment.

(3) *British Army*, i. 398.

in command of the Earl of Leicester's regiment, and shortly afterwards was appointed Governor of Dublin. On his return to England he was sent to relieve Nantwich, when he was taken prisoner by the Parliamentary forces under Sir Thomas Fairfax (afterwards Lord Fairfax), and sent to the Tower, where he remained three years, till 1646. The Scotch Parliament having concluded the bargain for the sale of their King, who had thrown himself upon their protection, all open resistance to the power of the English Parliament was at an end, but the Irish were still in arms. Lord Lisle, eldest son of the Earl of Leicester, being appointed Lord-Lieutenant in the place of his father, offered Monck, then a prisoner, a commission under him.⁽¹⁾

Parliament gladly availed itself of his services,⁽²⁾ and accepting a command there he subsequently concluded a peace with Owen Roe O'Neil, which displeased the Parliament, and a vote of censure was passed upon him.⁽³⁾ Cromwell, however, thought highly of his military talents, took him to Scotland and left him there as Commander-in-Chief, while he himself went in pursuit of the young King to Worcester.

Scotland having been reduced to tranquillity, Monck returned to London. In the year following (1653) he was appointed on a joint commission with

⁽¹⁾ Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, i. 173.

⁽²⁾ "That this House is of opinion that Colonel Monke may be of very good use now at Dublin." (*Commons' Journals*, Nov. 12, 1646.)

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, August 10, 1649.

Generals Blake and Deane, to attack the Dutch fleet under Tromp. The expedition was perfectly successful. Tromp fell in action; the Dutch took to flight, and sued for peace; and medals were voted to the British commanders.⁽¹⁾ Monck was selected by the Protector a second time as Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, which post he retained, with credit to himself and advantage to the Commonwealth, until the Restoration.

At what time Monck was reconverted to Royalist principles it is impossible to say. His consummate duplicity deceived every one. "Cromwell was a mere bungler to him," says Hallam.⁽²⁾ The King's party, however, seem never altogether to have abandoned the idea that he was with them in heart, and that when the opportunity occurred he would declare himself. Charles II., in his exile, addressed to him the following letter:—

"Cologne, 12th Aug., 1655.

"One, who believes he knows your nature and inclinations very well, assures me that, notwithstanding all ill accidents and misfortunes, you retain still your old affection to me, and resolve to express it upon the seasonable opportunity, which is as much as I look for from you.

"Your very affectionate friend,

"CHARLES REX."

⁽¹⁾ The medal is engraved in Mackinnon's *Coldstream Guards*, i. 58. Deane was killed by a chain-shot, "a new invention, generally ascribed to De Witte" (Skinner's *Life of Monk*, p. 45).

⁽²⁾ *Const. Hist.*, ii. 285.

It does not appear that Monck answered this letter, but he sent a copy of it to the Protector; the original he naturally enough preserved.⁽¹⁾ His object was probably to prove to Cromwell his unswerving fidelity to him, for that acute observer had his suspicions, but contented himself with a bantering postscript to one of his letters:—"Tis said there is a cunning fellow in Scotland called George Monck, who lies in wait there to serve Charles Stuart; pray use your diligence to take him, and send him up to me."⁽²⁾

Cromwell, however, had no cause to regret his appointment of Monck, whose conduct, whatever may have been his motives, was thoroughly loyal to him. He was also faithful to his successor as long as he retained office, and joined in a request with his officers that provision might be made for the rejected family, when no farther personal advantage could be expected from it. Monck continued to give immediate information to Richard's Government, as he had previously to that of his father, of any plot of "Charles Stuart's" party, whenever it came to his knowledge.⁽³⁾

After the fall of Richard, Monck had become an object of great distrust to the dominant faction in England. "He had been in many ways disoblged," says Price, "and officers of extravagant principles

⁽¹⁾ Thurloe, iv. 162. Also see *Life of Dr. Barwick, Dean of St. Paul's*, App., p. 397, ed. 1724.

⁽²⁾ Whitelocke, 652; Price, 712.

⁽³⁾ Thurloe, vii. 415.

had been encouraged in open contempt of his recommendatory letters in favour of others." There would have been rejoicing at Wallingford House if the General himself could have been displaced, or would have resigned, for Monck was too strong to be removed. He was a thorough soldier, and his men were devoted to him, and it was to this affection and confidence that he owed the control which he exercised over his army under most critical circumstances.

It is pretty clear that after the dissolution of the Protectorate, Monck had decided on restoring the Royal Family, if he could. He was not an ambitious man; it does not appear that he ever contemplated acquiring the supreme power for himself, which Fleetwood and Lambert unquestionably did. In fact, after he had marched up to London, and was the arbiter of his country's fate—having in no way compromised his future course—the Republicans, as a last resource, offered to him the Protectorate of the three kingdoms, or any other title he might choose, which he unhesitatingly declined.

After the Royalist rising was suppressed by Lambert in August, he seems to have taken a desponding view of public affairs, and actually contemplated throwing up his command and retiring to the estate in Ireland which had been granted to him by Oliver Cromwell.⁽¹⁾ But as soon as he heard of

Monck's Declaration.

(1) Before this, viz., in Feb., 1657, Monck wrote to Henry Cromwell: "I have a great ambition to be a planter under yor Excie, if I could get but liberty to be loose from my command here, wh I hope in a short time I shall have." (Harl. MSS., No. 7502.)

the forcible expulsion of the Parliament, and the superior rank assumed by Lambert, he at once took measures to declare himself a supporter of Parliament and an opponent of the military usurpation.

His Reticence.

He was repeatedly solicited at this time to pronounce for the King; but not a word of encouragement could his most intimate friends elicit. His wife was a Royalist; his own brother, and his brother-in-law Clarges, and his kinsman Greenville⁽¹⁾ made journeys to Scotland purposely to advance the King's interests. The chaplains Gumble and Price did their best to promote the same views; but to no one did he show his hand. He had, indeed, difficult cards to play; one false move and the game might be lost for ever. Popular as he was with the army, had there been any reason for supposing that he contemplated the restoration of Monarchy, his arm would have been powerless, for the majority of his officers, being fanatics, Anabaptists, and Republicans, would have turned against him. "The distinctive characteristic of the man was an impenetrable secrecy,"

⁽¹⁾ Son of Sir Bevil, of Kilkampten, Cornwall, killed at the battle of Lansdowne, and great-grandson of the gallant Admiral Sir Richard, who fought a desperate action with the Spanish fleet in 1591, and nephew of the Sir Richard with whom Monck had commenced his military career. At the age of fifteen he commanded his father's regiment, and subsequently held important posts in the army of Charles I.; a cousin-german of Monck's. Lord Lansdowne, in his vindication of Sir Richard Granville, appends this note: "The Chancellor (Clarendon) spells the name Greenvil, wherein he has been followed by others as an Oracle of Heraldry as well as History. If Cambden had been consulted, or any authentic record, it would have been found that A and E single have often varied in different ages, but never with a double E. All ancient names have suffered the same change, especially of the letter A into an E single." (*Works*, ii. 191.)

says Lingard, who sums up his opinion in a note, that "the fact probably was that Monk was neither Royalist nor Republican; that he sought only his own interest, and had determined to watch every turn of affairs, and to declare at last in favour of that party which appeared most likely to obtain the superiority." (1)

Monck's first move was to address a remonstrance to the Commander-in-Chief Lambert, entreating him to be an instrument of peace and good understanding between Parliament and army; "for if they shall continue this force, I am resolved," he writes, "with the assistance of God, and that part of the army under my command, to stand by them (the Parliament), and to assert their lawful authority." (2)

He then wrote to the speaker Lenthall: "I am resolved, as a true Englishman, to stand to and assert the liberty of Parliament; and the army here is very courageous and unanimous, and I doubt not but to give good account of this action to you. I have, according to your Act of the 11th inst. (being constituted a commissioner for the Government of the army), put out such persons as would not act according to your commission." (3) I do call God to witness that the asserting of a *Commonwealth* is the only

Letter to the Speaker.

(1) VII., ch. v., n., p. 200.

(2) *Letters*, p. 14.

(3) It had been ordered by the House of Commons, that those officers who had been approved of, if absent in Scotland, might receive their commissions at the hands of such commissioners as should be appointed for Scotland.

intent of my heart, and I desire, if possible, to avoid the shedding of blood, &c.

“Edinburgh, October 20, 1659.”

English Regiments in Scotland.

The military force stationed in Scotland had consisted of ten regiments of foot, each of a thousand men besides officers, four of horse, and one of dragoons. Two of the regiments of horse and four companies of foot had been ordered to England on the alarm of Booth's rising. The infantry were widely dispersed; eight companies of his own regiment⁽¹⁾ lay at Edinburgh, and two at Dalkeith, where the General usually resided. Colonel Talbot's regiment was quartered in Edinburgh; nine companies of Wilks's in the citadel of Leith, one in Edinburgh Castle; nine companies of Read's were at Stirling, and the tenth in England; eight companies of Overton's at Dundee, and two in England. Daniel's regiment lay at St. Johnston's (Perth), Sawrie's at Ayr, Cobbet's at Glasgow; nine companies of Colonel Fairfax's⁽²⁾ at Aberdeen, the other in England. Smith's was posted partly at Inverness and partly in the Highlands. The horse and dragoons lay in several places near the quarters of the infantry.

(1) Afterwards the Coldstream Guards, originally formed by draughts from Sir Arthur Hazelrig's and Col. Anwick's regiments at Newcastle and Berwick, by Oliver Cromwell, in order to provide a regiment for Monck (see *Commons' Journals*, Aug. 13, 1650); obtained the distinctive appellation from the place where Monck crossed the Tweed en route for England. (See Mackinnon's *History of the Regiment*.)

(2) Charles, a lawyer, brother of the 2nd Lord, uncle of the General Lord Fairfax. “A good portrait of him in armour is in the library at Newton Kyme.” (Markham's *Life of Fairfax*, 430.)

The next thing—and it was a delicate operation—was to secure these regiments and garrisons; in other words, to obtain their adherence to the Parliament, and their severance from their brethren of the army. Monck mistrusted most his own regiment of foot. The majority of its officers during his absence in the Dutch war had become Anabaptists, a name which then implied something more than the harmless and peaceable dissent from infant immersion—an entire freedom from all subjection to the civil as well as the ecclesiastical power.

He first sent for all the commanding officers, and announced to them his intention of marching to London in support of the Parliament. Fortunately for him, many of the field-officers were away in England on leave; those who were not suited to his views he removed from their commands, and filled their places with the next in succession, whereby he secured their good offices. He despatched those corps upon which he could rely to take possession of the citadels, so that he soon held all the strong places without much disturbance. Altogether he displaced one hundred and forty officers; ⁽¹⁾ but he continued their pay, as appears by “a letter of remonstrance from the officers of the army in Scotland to the officers of the army in England.” ⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ Price, 742.

⁽²⁾ “The present emergency hath made our Commander-in-Chief to put some of the officers from their commands, whose actings have not been such as might promise they can cordially join in this business; yet he hath continued to them their salaries out of the contingencies of the army, till the Parliament's pleasure is further known. We are for a

Lambert's
Army.

Monck's open declaration for the Parliament convinced the self-elected Committee of the necessity of dealing with so formidable an adversary. Lambert therefore left London on the 3rd December, to take the command of an army to be assembled at Newcastle, the strength of which is variously stated at from seven to twelve thousand men.⁽¹⁾ This seemed like the beginning of another civil war.

An attempt at arrangement with the antagonistic General had been made through the instrumentality of Clarges, who had been commissioned to proceed to Scotland with that view. But he was a determined Royalist, and so it was agreed between him and Monck that three commissioners should be sent to London, ostensibly to debate the points at issue, but really to gain time. Terms were agreed upon, to which, however, the General refused his assent, and a second negotiation was opened with Lambert at Newcastle. Thus delay was added to delay, and Monck improved the time by removing the disaffected from their regiments, dismissing even the private men who were suspected, and filling up the vacancies with Scotchmen. He secured Berwick, and had Colonel Cobbet arrested, having received information that he was commissioned to excite a mutiny among his troops, and even to seize his person if practicable.⁽²⁾

The delay, which Monck so ingeniously pro-

Free State and Commonwealth as well as you; we are against a *Single Person* as well as you," &c. (*Letters*, p. 17.)

⁽¹⁾ Price (736), who accompanied Monck, says 12,000 men, of which 7,000 were horse.

⁽²⁾ Baker's *Chron.*, 583.

longed, had the double advantage of bringing daily accessions to himself and disorganisation to the ranks of his opponents. His military chest was well stocked by his providence, while Lambert's was almost exhausted, and the Committee had not the means of raising more funds. A *coup de main* was clearly Lambert's proper policy. "If he had not lingered so long at Newcastle," says Price, "but with his horse only advanced directly into Scotland, he could have met with little or no resistance."

It was indeed a bold and hazardous enterprise in which Monck had engaged. The chances of success seemed small, yet a man of his sagacity must have calculated them. On what support could he reckon? If the two armies had met, the probability was that his troops would have fraternised with his adversary's, and the General might have been left alone. The Scots had offered to raise an army to support him, but this he declined, being unwilling to put power in their hands. Ludlow, in command of the army in Ireland, and the officers there, had declared their intention not only not to join him, but even to act against him in case he advanced any farther; and the officers of the fleet had not replied to his application. The only support on which he could rely was that of the Presbyterians and Royalists, and they were weakened by factions, being divided in their views of Constitutional government. Fortune, however, favours the bold, and a rapid transformation occurred in the aspect of affairs.

Chances of
Success.

(1) Price, 735.

1270

Fairfax turned
Royalist.

Lord Fairfax had become a convert to Royalty. He and Monck had put themselves in communication with each other, and the go-betweens they had employed were decided Royalists. "If General Monck" Fairfax declared, "has any other design than to restore Parliament to their ancient freedom, and settle the nation upon its ancient government, I will oppose him, but otherwise I will heartily join with him."⁽¹⁾ By "ancient government" it must be assumed that he meant Monarchy, as he subsequently said to Monck "that there was no peace nor settlement to be expected in England but by a Free Parliament, and upon the old foundation of Monarchy."⁽²⁾ These sentiments were not openly promulgated by Fairfax; in public he simply declared for a Free Parliament, otherwise the Parliament could not shortly after have thanked him for his services, nor could Monck's intentions have been any longer a secret after joining him. So that if Monck temporised, Fairfax did the same. Fairfax, however, was so far satisfied with Monck's reply, that he announced to him his intention of taking the field on the 1st January, with such forces as he could collect, and attacking the rear of Lambert's army.

"Rump" re-
stored.

Next came good news from Portsmouth, that Colonel Whetham and the garrison had unanimously pronounced for the Parliament, and the forces sent against them by Fleetwood had joined in the declara-

(1) *Iter Boreale*, printed in *Fairfax Correspondence*, iv. 151.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 169.

tion.⁽¹⁾ Then, that Vice-Admiral Lawson, and the fleet under his command, had done the same thing. Then arrived in rapid succession the intelligence that serious riots had occurred in London, that several regiments there had declared in favour of the Parliament, which in consequence had, on December 26th, resumed its sitting, and so the "Rump" was once more triumphant, upon which the weak-minded Fleetwood had sent in his submission, expressing himself, as was his wont, in the language of the convective, "The Lord had blasted our counsels and spit in our faces."⁽²⁾

On the 28th December an officer arrived express from Dublin to inform Monck, then at Coldstream, that Dublin Castle had been surprised in the interest of the Parliament, and that the officers there requested his advice as to the conduct of the affairs of the army in Ireland.⁽³⁾ He brought over also a letter to the two Irish regiments, under Colonel Zanche, called the Irish Brigade in England. Moreover, Disbrow's regiment, which Lambert had detached to aid his party in London, when it reached St. Albans had also pronounced for the Parliament;⁽⁴⁾ and these manifestations can scarcely be regarded otherwise than as the result of Monck's open declaration.

The first care of the House when it re-assembled was to order "that no forces shall be raised but by the authority of the present Parliament, and that all

(1) Whitelocke, 689.

(2) Clarendon, *State Papers*, iii. 647.

(3) Gumble, 182. Monck to the Speaker from Coldstream, 29th Dec.

(4) Clarendon, *History*, vi. 180.

such forces as have been, or shall be, raised without authority of Parliament, be forthwith disbanded; but that this extend not to any of the forces raised by General Monck." And again, "that this House doth approve of what General Monck hath done in placing and displacing of officers."⁽¹⁾

Fairfax in
Arms.

The consequence was that when Fairfax, true to his engagement, took the field on the 1st January with very scanty forces, the Irish brigade—a corps of Lambert's army—some 1,200 strong, announced its intention of coming over to him. The old Parliamentary General met them by appointment on the memorable Marston Moor, and there one and all joined him. Many other regiments followed the example, so that Lambert found himself a General without soldiers, and had to seek safety in flight.

Monck's March
to England.

On the 8th December, Monck had established his head-quarters at Coldstream, and the rest of his army was distributed in the neighbouring villages. On the 23rd, young Brian Fairfax, after a perilous journey—the "*Iter Boreale*"—reached him with the intelligence that his kinsman would take the field on January 1st. On that day Monck led his army across the Tweed to co-operate with Fairfax, and reached Wooler at night. On January 4th he was at Morpeth. By this time he had received official intimation of the re-installation of Parliament, and the approval of his services. It is therefore clear, from his continuing his march to London when the Parliament was in peaceable possession of authority—

(¹) *Commons' Journals*, vii., 796 and 799.

the alleged object of his expedition into England—that he had other projects in view. The reason he now assigned was that he wished to aid Parliament in reducing the army to submission.

The Parliament mistrusted Monck, but it was policy to affect confidence in him; so, on the 6th January, it was resolved “that General Monck be desired, as speedily as he can, to come up to London.”

Monck meets
Fairfax.

On the 5th January he was at Newcastle, on the 11th at York. There he remained five days, and had interviews with Fairfax, who urged him openly to declare for the King; but the wily old campaigner was inexorable, and it is stated actually “cudgelled” (probably caned) an officer who had asserted that “this Monck will at last bring in Charles Stuart.”⁽¹⁾ And he was justified in his reticence, for as yet there was no sign of popular interest exhibited in favour of Monarchy; and had he proclaimed the King, assuredly there would have been a renewal of fighting and bloodshed, without any certainty of a successful issue; no party had as yet ventured to use the King’s name, and among the many addresses presented to Monck on his march by corporations, they were congratulatory to him solely as the supporter of the House of Commons.

It has been asserted that Fairfax, by taking the field on the 1st January, thereby enabling Monck to advance to York without opposition, secured the Restoration of Monarchy.⁽²⁾ But it must be borne in

⁽¹⁾ Price, 753.

⁽²⁾ “We now know that the Restoration was due, not so much to that worthless renegade Monck, as to Lord Fairfax, without whose

mind that Monck had the merit of being the first to declare openly for Parliament; that it was he who called upon Fairfax to join him;⁽¹⁾ and that the defection of the Irish Brigade, and the support announced in other quarters, were the result of that open declaration.

Fairfax, who is held up as a true patriot, appears to have experienced a very rapid conversion. In February, 1659, he thus expressed himself: "I desire that we give not the Militia out of our hands to any single person, but that it be intrusted where it may be serviceable to itself and to the people."⁽²⁾ Yet how soon after this patriotic declaration was he prepared to intrigue for the *unconditional* return of regal government, thus giving up everything into the hands of "a single person," and such a person as Charles Stuart, who had already commenced a course of profligacy, which even his best friends and supporters were constrained to admit and deplore.

But Monarchy was not yet restored; and, as Brian Fairfax expressed it, "the greater work remained for Monck to do, which by degrees he did, and had the honour and reward of it." Monck left Colonel Fairfax's regiment at York, and sent back two regiments of horse, under Major-General Morgan, to Scotland, and then continued his march. A trying one it was; for the early months of that year were

co-operation Monck could never have advanced from Scotland, and would probably have been crushed by Lambert." (Preface to Markham's *Life of Fairfax*.)

⁽¹⁾ *Iter Boreale*, 152.

⁽²⁾ Burton's *Diary*, iii. 273.

memorable for their exceptional inclemency.⁽¹⁾ On the 28th February he was at St. Albans,⁽²⁾ and from that place he addressed a letter to the Speaker :—

“Right Honourable,—I have lately acquainted the Council of State what forces I have sent into Scotland, and more are necessary to be sent thither to reinforce them. . . .

“I am now marched in obedience to your commands thus far on my way towards London, with four regiments of foot and two regiments of horse, each regiment of foot containing a thousand, and each regiment of horse six hundred; so that, by a list which I have [had] sent to me from the Quartermaster-General of the horse and foot in *London*, I have disposed of these regiments which march with me; and I humbly offer that all those now in London, except Col. Fagg’s regiment and Col. Morley’s,⁽³⁾ may be sent to the several quarters by me assigned; for, with submission, I conceive it not to your service that those soldiers now in London lately in rebellion

(1) “The frost was great, and the snow greater; and I do not remember that we ever trod upon plain earth from Edinburgh to London.” (Price, 749.)

(2) Price gives the following route: January 4th, Morpeth; 5th, Newcastle; 11th, York; 18th, Mansfield; 19th, Nottingham; 22nd, Leicester; 24th, Northampton; 27th, Dunstable; 28th, St. Albans; February 2nd, Barnet; 3rd, London.

(3) “Col. Herbert Morley, of Glynn (Glynde), Col. Jno. Fagg, of Wiston, and Wm. Hay, of Little Horsted, Esquire, all in the County of Sussex, lay hold of his M^{ties} Grace, . . . and undertake for the obedience of their two Regiments, and for the whole of the County of Sussex in his M^{ties} name, so long as they are in command.” (Clarendon, *State Papers*, iii. 749.) Morley was shortly after the Restoration appointed Captain in the King’s Regiment of Guards at Dunkirk.

against you should mingle with these your approved faithful regiments till the present officers by you put upon them have, by discipline, reduced them to a more assured obedience to you. The three regiments of horse with me are as many in number as those now in London; and my four regiments of foot near as full as the six I remove, so that your numbers are not lessened. In this letter I send two lists; in one of them the quarters are set down for those regiments which march with me into London, and in the other the several quarters of those to march out," &c.

The adoption of the General's precautionary measure was the cause of serious disturbances in the streets of London. The regiments in garrison there demurred to being turned out in order to make room for the northern army; their pay also was in arrear, and they declared that they would not move till they received it. The turbulent apprentices exulted at the prospect of an affray, and paraded the streets, vociferating for a free Parliament. The officers of these regiments, having lately received their commissions from the Parliament, remained passive, so that the men were compelled to submit for want of leaders. A month's pay was voted to them, and a few troops of cavalry, which had remained obedient, soon dispersed the rioters.

Monck in
London.

On the next morning (February 3rd), Monck, riding at the head of his forces, marched into London by Gray's Inn Lane, and proceeded to Whitehall, where he established his head-quarters. Pepys saw them "march by in good plight, and stout officers."

He was not, however, favourably impressed with the General's appearance. "He seemed a dull man;" and "my Lord" (Pepys's patron, Sandwich) had often told him that he considered him "to be but a thick-sculled fool."⁽¹⁾ The little army was, of course, gratified at finding itself in the Metropolis after enduring so many hardships; but the men were disappointed in not meeting with so warm a welcome as they had been accustomed to receive on their march. The fact was, the popularity of the "Rump" was already on the wane, and the Scotch army was regarded as its protector; nor was the *émeute* of the preceding day forgotten. However, all the military posts, vacated for the occasion, were quietly occupied, and the off-duty men were dismissed to their billets, for as yet there were no barracks erected for troops.

They were billeted as follows:—

FOOT.

The Lord General's Regiment of Foot (<i>it occupied then the same quarters as now</i>)	}	In St. James's and parts adjacent.
Col. Read's Regt.		In Somerset House, the Strand, Long Acre, Covent Garden, and Martin's Lane.
Col. Lydeot's Regt.	}	Thanet House, Peter House, ⁽²⁾ and parts adjacent.
Col. Hubblethorn's Regt. (late)		Holborn, Smithfield, and the parts adjacent.
Col. Talbot's Regt. ⁽³⁾		

HORSE.

The Lord General's Regiment of Horse	}	In the Mews and in the Strand.

⁽¹⁾ *Diary*, i., 17 and 53, 4th ed., 1854.

⁽²⁾ Both in Aldersgate Street. See Cunningham's *Hand Book*, i. 9.

⁽³⁾ Gumble was chaplain of this regiment.

HORSE—*continued.*

Col. Knight's Regt. (late Col. Saunder's)	Four troops in King Street and Tothill Street, Westminster ; two troops in Holborn.
Col. Cloberry's Regt. (late Col. Twisleton's)	Two troops in Southwark, one in Bishopsgate, three in Smithfield and the parts adjacent.
Col. Farley's Regt. in Southwark	Lately arrived from the Isle of Wight and Portsmouth.
Col. Morley's in the Tower .	

Addresses the House.

February 6th, Monck attended at the House of Commons to receive the thanks of Parliament. He addressed the House in reply; he was not a great orator, but he spoke with becoming modesty. The only remark that was significant was, that during his march he observed that the people expressed themselves as anxious for a settlement of affairs; that their desire was for a free and full Parliament, and the admittance of members "secluded" before 1648. He was sure that the Parliament would do this for the good of the common cause; but he urged them to be careful that neither the Cavalier nor the "Phanatic" party should yet have a share in the civil or military power.⁽¹⁾

The "Rump" had done its work, and was now doomed to extinction; circumstances soon brought about the *dénouement*.

On Tuesday in Easter week there was a demonstration similar to that which, till lately, was looked for annually—a volunteer review. "All the military in London drew into Hyde Park, and made a brave

⁽¹⁾ Monck's *Letters*, p. 56. It is very remarkable that this speech and the entire interview is wholly omitted from the *Journals* of the House, and that in its place a gap is left, marked with asterisks.

appearance with train-bands and auxiliaries, with several troops of horse, which were near 14,000 men."⁽¹⁾

Monck's first care almost, after arriving in London, was to send in a requisition for new arms for his own regiment.⁽²⁾

During the late convulsions the payment of taxes had been interrupted, and though the Parliament on re-assembling had ordered the issue of the impositions, but very slight obedience was paid to the order. The Common Council of London flatly refused submission, and declared that until a free and lawful Parliament were elected it would not make any payment. Parliament could not submit to this, and it felt that it must enforce its authority, and so put to the test the General's professions of obedience. Monck received orders to march into the City, to arrest certain persons, to remove the posts and chains from all the streets, and to break down the portcullises and gates. The General promptly resolved to obey the order.

The citizens received him with groans and hisses, In the City. his soldiers murmured at the service imposed upon them, the officers tendered their resignation. The General curtly asked, "What! will you not obey the Parliament?"⁽³⁾ But he set about his work in a

⁽¹⁾ Gumble, 287.

⁽²⁾ "To the officers of the Ordnance in the Tower of London,—I desire you to exchange the old musquets, and deliver new arms in their stead to my regiment.—Given under my hand, February 10th, 1659-60, GEORGE MONCK."

⁽³⁾ Price, 701.

dogged manner, and with a gloominess of countenance which showed—and probably was assumed for the purpose—that he was obeying his orders with reluctance. He subsequently addressed the following report to the Speaker:—

“Right Honourable,—In obedience to the commands received from the Council last night, I marched with your forces into the City this morning, and have secured all the Persons, except two, ordered to be secured, which two were not to be found. The posts and chains I have given orders to be taken away, but have hitherto forborne the taking down of the gates and portcullises, because, it will in all likelihood exasperate the City, and I have good ground of hopes from them that they will levy the assess: they desiring only first to meet in Common Council, which they intend to do to-morrow morning. For which reason I have suspended the execution of your commands touching the gates and portcullises.—&c.

“Guild Hall, February 9th, 1659.

“POSTSCRIPT.

“I shall become an humble suitor to you, that you will be pleased to hasten your qualifications, that the writs may be sent out. I can assure you it will tend much to the peace of the country, and satisfy many honest men.”⁽¹⁾

This letter was immediately taken into consideration by the House at the afternoon sitting, and the following order was forwarded to the General:

⁽¹⁾ *Letters*, p. 59.

“That the gates of the City of London and the Portcullises thereof be forthwith destroyed; and the Commissioners of the army do take order that the same be done accordingly.” He had now no alternative but to execute the order, for the Commissioners would carry it out if he declined. So the demolition was effected, amidst the loudly-expressed discontent of the military employed in it.

Monck lost no time in availing himself of the opportunity afforded by this occurrence. He drew up a long and verbose letter to Parliament with the concurrence of his field officers, who affixed their signatures to it. After complaining of the odious service in which he had been employed, he reproached them with allowing persons who had acted on the illegal Committee of Safety to remain members of the House; and complained that many who had been active in the late defection continued in the army. He required them in the name of the citizens, soldiers, and whole Commonwealth, to issue writs within a week for the filling of the vacant seats, and to fix the time for their own dissolution, and the assembling of a new Parliament.

His Man-
oeuvres.

Having despatched this letter, he marched his army into the city, and requested the Lord Mayor to call a Common Council, which had recently been dissolved by order of Parliament. He then made many apologies for the indignities which he had been obliged to put upon them; and assured them that he, who had appeared among them as an enemy by the orders of others, was come that day as a friend upon

his own responsibility; and that his object was to unite his fortune with theirs, and by their assistance to obtain a full and free Parliament for the nation.⁽¹⁾

This speech was received with loud acclamations. The purport of it was soon noised abroad, and then the church bells were rung, the soldiers were feasted, bonfires were lighted, and among the manifestations of the night was the "roasting of the rump," a practical joke which long survived in the traditions of the City, so extensively carried on that night, that Pepys says "it was indeed past imagination."

Excluded
Members
Return.

Having remodelled the City Militia, on the 21st February, Monck marched from the City and took up his quarters again in Whitehall. On this day the excluded members walked to the House, accompanied by many officers of the army;⁽²⁾ the guard under the command of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper opened their ranks to let them pass; and no opposition was offered by the Speaker or the other members, though Sir Arthur Hazelrig and some of the more rigid Republicans withdrew. All votes relative to their expulsion were annulled; a new Council of State was selected, the most influential members of which were Royalists

⁽¹⁾ Skinner, 228—Whitelocke (p. 690) says, "Monck drew up his forces in Finsbury;" (on the ground now covered by Finsbury Square and its surroundings,) "and that after dining with the Lord Mayor, he retired to the Bull Head in Cheapside, and quartered at the Glass House in Broad Street," (so called because "Venice glasses were here made by Venetians. This place afterwards became Pinners' Hall." Strype, B. ii. p. 112.) The week after, he removed to Drapers' Hall in Throgmorton Street.

⁽²⁾ "They were conducted by Adjutant Miller of Monck's own regiment, to take their former places in the House of Commons." (Price, 773.)

or Presbyterians; Monck was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the three kingdoms, and joint commander of the fleet with Admiral Montague.⁽¹⁾ Twenty thousand pounds were voted to Monck in lieu of Hampton Court, formerly promised to him. Sir George Booth and many others were discharged from custody; the Common Council was restored, the 15th of March was fixed for the dissolution of the existing, and the 23rd of April for the meeting of the new Parliament. A written declaration of Monck's was read in the House, wherein among other matters he stated, "in the presence of God, I have nothing before my eyes but God's glory, and the settlement of these nations upon Commonwealth foundations, without a King, single Person, or House of Lords."⁽²⁾

Here was duplicity, or rather direct perjury; for His Duplicity. can it be believed that so rapid a revulsion of his sentiments had occurred, that in little more than three weeks he consented to receive Sir John Greenville, and treated for the restoration of Monarchy as the humble subject of the King? Possibly he might have been alarmed lest he should be forestalled in this work; for some of the Republicans, deeming the Restoration inevitable were seriously contemplating

⁽¹⁾ Edward, grandson of Lord Montague of Boughton, raised a regiment for the Parliament, and fought at Marston Moor and Naseby. In 1652 became one of the Council of State, and soon after was appointed Admiral; subsequently embraced the cause of Charles II., and was by him created Earl of Sandwich.

⁽²⁾ *Letters*, p. 68. This address is also given at length in the *Diurnall of Thomas Rugge*. (Add. MSS. 10,116.)

overtures to Charles, in order to provide for their own safety. Evelyn urged Colonel Morley, Lieutenant of the Tower, to bestir himself, and take steps for a Restoration, that he "might do it without Monck, and have all the honour."⁽¹⁾

Monck could not divest himself of his habitual caution. He waited until Parliament was dissolved, then called Greenville, and having read to him what he should say to Charles, tore up the paper, and exacted a promise from his kinsman that he would not write in reply, nor confide the secret of his mission to any but the King alone. The only reason that can be assigned for delaying his open declaration was that the army had with reluctance consented to the restoration of the excluded members; and to ask more of it at present would have been to hazard all the advantages which had been obtained.⁽²⁾ This, no doubt, was the case. A correspondent of the King writes to him on the 28th March: "The army is not yet in a temper to hear your name publicly; but doubt not in a short time they will be so modelled that the General may answer for their perfect obedience."⁽³⁾

The Republicans having in vain tempted the ambition of the Lord-General with the offer of the supreme authority, appealed to the military, and represented to them the dangerous consequences that must infallibly result to them from the recall of the royal exile. Their fears were so far wrought upon

⁽¹⁾ *Diary*, i. 355, ed. 1850.

⁽²⁾ Ludlow, 364. Price, 773.

⁽³⁾ Clarendon, *State Papers*, iii. 711.

that a remonstrance was in process of signature, with the view of opposing all attempts to set up Charles Stuart or any single person. It was presented to Monck for his signature, with a request that he would lay it before Parliament. This circumstance "threw a general damp over London," says Pepys; ⁽¹⁾ but Monck pointed out the inexpediency of troubling the House with it, as it was on the eve of dissolution, and he procured the suppression of the document. He also told them that nothing was more subversive of discipline than their meeting in military councils to interpose in civil matters; and he forbade them to assemble again. ⁽²⁾ He soon after ordered the several officers to join their regiments, dismissed those whose sentiments he had reason to distrust, and obtained from the army an engagement to submit all things to the authority of the new Parliament.

A forlorn hope suggested itself to some of placing Lambert in competition with Monck. He had been summoned before the Commons on March 6th, and ordered to give securities for his peaceable behaviour, and on his refusing had been committed to the Tower. On April 11th he found means to escape. ⁽³⁾ This caused Monck and the Council considerable anxiety. He had been popular with the army, and was "the Mars of malcontents." No time was to be lost in

Lambert E-
capes.

⁽¹⁾ *Diary*, i. 34.

⁽²⁾ Price, 782.

⁽³⁾ "At eight of the clock at night he escaped by a rope tied fast to his window, by which he slid down, and in each hand he had a handkercher, and six men were ready to receive him, who had a barge. She who made his bed, being privy to his escape, went to his bed and put on his nightcap to blind the warder." (Rugge, p. 121.)

suppressing so dangerous a foe. After hiding for three days in London, he made his way to the country; had succeeded in gathering around him some horse and foot, and expected shortly to find himself at the head of a considerable force. So Monck dispatched Colonel Ingoldsby,⁽¹⁾ who from a regicide had become a Royalist, in pursuit of him, with instructions to collect what troops he could *en route*, and to be at Northampton on the 20th, a rapid operation which Ingoldsby accomplished with much energy.

Four companies of Monck's own foot regiment were at this time in the Tower; and having a due regard to their efficiency, he caused their match-lock musquets to be exchanged for snaphances.⁽²⁾

Monck was now armed with the King's Commission in his pocket, and he told Greenville, "If Ingoldsby is beaten, and the army revolts to Lambert, I shall declare for the King, publish my commission, and raise all the Royalists in England, Scotland, and Ireland."⁽³⁾

(1) Second son of Sir Richard Ingoldsby, of Lenborough, Bucks, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Oliver Cromwell (aunt of the first Protector). • He had signed the death-warrant of Charles I., but was pardoned at Monck's special request, and made K.B. previously to the Coronation. He commanded a regiment of horse, formerly that of Lord Rich. Was M.P. for Aylesbury till 1681. Died in 1685. His grandson became a Brigadier-General; wounded at Fontenoy; through some mistake of orders given by the Duke of Cumberland, his conduct was brought into dispute, and a court-martial resulted in 1745. Died 1759.

(2) "To the Officers of the Ordnance of the Tower of London,—You are, upon sight hereof, to receive from Major Nicholls all the match-lock musquets of the four companies of my regiment, now lying in the Tower of London, and deliver so many snaphance musquets to him, or whom he shall appoint; and in so doing this shall be your warrant.—Given under my hand at St. James's, April 14th, 1660, GEORGE MONCK." (War Office Records, S.P.O.)

(3) Price, 793.

Ingoldsby came up with Lambert near Daventry. A troop of Lambert's cavalry, under the command of young Hazelrig, deserted him, and the others, when ordered to charge, pointed their pistols to the ground. Upon which, Lambert, seeing how matters were going, turned his horse's head and fled. Ingoldsby galloped after him, and threatened to shoot him unless he surrendered, which he did. His courage seemed to have failed him, and he besought his former comrade to allow him to escape, but he was conducted back to his old quarters in the Tower.

Passing along Tyburn, April 27th, as a prisoner, he witnessed an imposing assemblage, for there had been a great field day in Hyde Park: six regiments of the Train-bands, with Auxiliaries and Volunteers, numbering 20,000 men,⁽¹⁾ having mustered there. Before marching home, the King's health was drunk at the head of every regiment, with drums beating, and so enthusiastic was their hilarity, that—the toast having been duly honoured—they beat out the bottoms of their drums.⁽²⁾

The Convention Parliament (as it was termed, New Parliament. because it had not been constitutionally summoned) met on the appointed day, April 25th. Fairfax had been elected member for Yorkshire, and Monck for Devonshire, his native county. The elections showed plainly which way the public mind had drifted, and the majority returned left no doubt as to the form of the future Government. Yet Monck still

⁽¹⁾ Clarendon, *State Papers*, ii. 738.

⁽²⁾ Carte's *Letters*, ii. 329.

continued to dissemble, and his presence deterred the members from any mention of the King.

Letters from
Charles.

At length, on the 1st May, the solemn farce was played out. Monck had consulted with Greenville as to the best mode of delivering his message from the King.⁽¹⁾ It was announced at a sitting, that one Sir John Greenville was at the door, having been sent over by the King with a letter to the House. He was at once admitted; the King's name was received with loud acclamations, and the bearer was presented with £500. Greenville had previously delivered to the House of Peers a similar letter, which had been accepted in an equally flattering manner; others also were addressed to the Lord Mayor, and the army and navy. This was the celebrated Declaration from Breda, the royal charter on the faith of which Charles was permitted to ascend the throne of his father.⁽²⁾

The country went wild with joy; £50,000 were immediately voted to the King, £10,000 to the Duke of York, and £5,000 to the Duke of Gloucester; very seasonable gifts, for the royal purses were at a very low ebb. The City also sent a gift of £10,000, and men of all grades and politics hastened over

⁽¹⁾ Price, 797.

⁽²⁾ The King offered a free general pardon to all that should lay hold of it within forty days, saving such as the Parliament should except; and a "liberty to tender consciences, and that none be questioned for difference of opinion in matters of religion that do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; all things relating to grants, sales and purchases shall be determined by Parliament; he will consent to act for that purpose and for satisfaction of the arrears of officers and soldiers, and they to be received in his Majesty's service upon so good pay and conditions as they now enjoy." (*Lords' Journals*, xi. 7—10.)

to Breda, many giving presents in money to his Majesty to procure indemnity for the past, or to prove their gratitude for favours in anticipation. The army transmitted an address through Clarges, who returned with the title of Sir Thomas: the first of those numerous promotions which were to accompany the Restoration.

On the 8th May, the King was proclaimed with great solemnity in Palace Yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple Bar.

Thus Monck had effected—what he had probably Monck's Merit. all along projected—a bloodless revolution. This was his paramount merit, to be weighed against his worst offences.⁽¹⁾ Clarendon acknowledges—and there was no great love between them—"the truth is, the General managed the business which he had undertaken with wonderful prudence and dexterity." Fairfax would have acted a more prompt and open part, but would the same result have been produced without a renewal of civil war? The rewards lavished on him by the Parliament, and subsequently by the Sovereign, are a proof that he was considered the great instrument of the Restoration. But in a national point of view, the most serious charge against him is that, whilst the fatal effects of unfettered monarchy were fresh in the memory, he did

(1) In Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa* (lib. xiv., p. 1) the preamble to Monck's patent of Duke of Albemarle is printed, said to have been drawn up by Sir Richard Fanshaw. After reciting a long series of eminent services in language of lofty eulogy, it closes with that which was the gist of his claim to honour: namely, that "*Hæc omnia. . . . prudentiâ ac felicitate summâ, victor sine sanguine perfecit.*"

not throw his weight into the scale with those who desired a treaty with the King, which might have prevented some of the disorder and disgrace of the ensuing reign, and of the imbecile tyranny of that which succeeded. Charles no doubt expected some limitations to be exacted, and probably would have consented to them. A correspondent of the Marquess of Ormond writes from London, 27th of April: "Without doubt the giving the King easy or hard conditions dependeth totally upon the General." ⁽¹⁾

Charles' Ar-
rival.

The King accepted the invitation of the United Provinces to repair to the Hague, where a magnificent reception awaited him; the British fleet under Montague proceeded to the coast; the Duke of York at once took the command as High Admiral; a deputation of the Lords and Commons, (Fairfax being one, but not Monck,) and of the citizens and clergy, was sent to wait upon the King, who on May 23rd embarked at Scheveling, on board the "Naseby" ⁽²⁾—a name recalling unpleasant memories—and landed at Dover on the 25th. He came ashore in the Admiral's barge; Monck met him on the beach, and was most graciously received. The Mayor presented a very rich Bible on the part of the town, which Charles accepted, and said it was the thing he loved above all

⁽¹⁾ Carte, ii. 329.

⁽²⁾ Afterwards re-named "THE ROYAL CHARLES."

"The Naseby now no longer England's shame,
But better to be lost in Charles his name."

DRYDEN'S *Astræa Redux*.

The "Royal Charles," of eighty-two guns, was afterwards captured by the Dutch at Chatham in 1667.

in the world, and "so he entered into a stately coach away through the town towards Canterbury, without making any stay at Dover: the shouting and joy expressed by all being past imagination." ⁽¹⁾

At Canterbury the King invested Monck with the Garter,—the two royal Dukes putting upon him the George and Garter.⁽²⁾ The insignia of the Order were also sent to Montague, addressed to "Our well-beloved Sir Edward Montague, one of our Generals at sea." From Canterbury to London, Charles's progress was one festive procession.

At Blackheath the military were drawn up. With Joyful Procession. what eyes must the King have beheld those stern pike-men of the Commonwealth; and how must they have regarded the royal pageant as it glided slowly by! Nine years and a half had elapsed since his flight from Worcester field, and on his thirtieth birthday Charles re-entered the capital in which his father's blood had eleven years before flowed on the scaffold. "It passed along," says Evelyn, "with a triumph of above 20,000 horse and foot, brandishing their swords, and shouting with inexpressible joy; the ways strewed with flowers; the bells ringing; the streets hung with tapestry; fountains running with wine; the Mayor, Aldermen, and all the Companies in their liveries, chains of gold, and banners; Lords and Nobles clad in cloth of gold and velvet; the windows and balconies all set with ladies; trumpets, music, and myriads of people flocking, even so far as from Rochester, so as they

⁽¹⁾ Pepys, i. 74.

⁽²⁾ Gumble, 387.

were seven hours in passing the city, even from two o'clock in the afternoon till nine at night."

"I stood in the Strand," continues the enthusiastic diarist, "and beheld it, and blessed God. And all this was done without one drop of bloodshed, and by that very army which rebelled against him!"

CHAPTER II.

ARMY DISBANDED—SCOTLAND AND IRELAND—FIFTH-MONARCHY
INSURRECTION—MEASURES THEREON—FORMATION OF GUARDS
—FIRST PAY-LISTS.

ONE of the first important acts of the English Legislature was to raise money to pay, and then to disband, the army. For although Monck had endeavoured as far as possible to provide that the troops should give the King a good reception, yet their loyalty was not to be relied upon; and Clarendon says, "It was evident that how united soever their inclinations and acclamations seemed to be at Blackheath, their affections were not the same."⁽¹⁾

Republican
Army.

In Scotland the royal authority was speedily re-established. Charles could not forget that to the Scots he owed most of the calamities which had befallen his family. Scotland and Ireland were not specified in the Declaration from Breda; but the King cherished no unkindly feelings towards the land of his ancestors; and so, although then conquered and prostrate, Scotland was restored to its ancient dignity of an independent kingdom, and a Parliament was summoned to meet at Edinburgh on January 1st, 1661. The members were eager to show the sincerity of their new political professions.

Scotland.

⁽¹⁾ *Life*, i. 333.

In the opinion of the Cavaliers no man had more deeply offended than the Marquess of Argyle. He had sat in Richard Cromwell's Parliament, and vengeance was demanded against the betrayer of his Sovereign and murderer of Montrose. For some time his fate remained in suspense; but it was decided by the production of a packet of letters formerly written by him to Monck and others. Whether Monck produced it is a disputed question;⁽¹⁾ that he might have saved him is certain. His judges hurried the victim to the scaffold. The Marquess mounted it with intrepidity, and his head was struck off by the "maiden."

Ireland.

In Ireland a new race of proprietors had arisen, soldiers and adventurers of English birth, who during the late revolutionary period had shared among themselves the lands of the native Irish. On the fall of Richard Cromwell, a council of officers was established in Dublin; these summoned a convention of deputies from the Protestant proprietors, which tendered to Charles the obedience of his ancient kingdom of Ireland. "Not that the members felt any strong attachment to the cause of royalty," says Lingard, "they had been the most violent of its adversaries; but their fear of the Irish, whom they had trampled in the dust, compelled them to follow in the footsteps of the English Parliament. To secure the royal protection, the convention made the King a present of £20,000, the Duke of York £4,000,

⁽¹⁾ In the *Biog. Brit.* it is asserted that the letters were not produced, for reasons which are there given.

and the Duke of Gloucester £2,000, and adjourned till November, having appointed a standing committee to govern the island. The King issued a declaration for the settlement of Ireland, and promised that the innocent should be reinstated in their lands, and that no actual possessor should be removed without compensation."⁽¹⁾ It appears that the lands forfeited in Ireland under the Commonwealth amounted to 7,708,237 statute acres, leaving undisturbed about 8,500,000 acres belonging to the Protestants. The Duke of York subsequently received a grant of all the lands held by the regicides, who had been attainted.

The military force of the three kingdoms existing at the Restoration was about 60,000 men.⁽²⁾ A very considerable augmentation must have been made during the supremacy of the Military Council, for according to the returns of the pay due to the army in Richard Cromwell's time, when the number and strength of regiments are given, it would appear to have been about 30,000 men for the three kingdoms.⁽³⁾ This army—whatever its numbers—had been supreme at home and victorious abroad; so that it was not likely to give place without a murmur to that vanquished party which had suddenly reappeared on all sides to seize upon the important posts of command. The old soldiers looked with contempt upon the Royalist officers whom Albemarle had appointed

Military
Forces.

⁽¹⁾ Lingard (ed. v.), VII., ch. vi.

⁽²⁾ Macaulay says 50,000 (i. 154).

⁽³⁾ *Coms. Jour.*, 7th April, 1659.

to supersede those Presbyterians and Republicans whom it was considered desirable to remove. With a view to popularity, it was publicly announced, "That the soldiery may see the affection that his Sacred Majesty hath for the army, his Majesty is pleased to take the regiment lately Colonel Unton Croke's for his own, which is now styled 'The Royal Regiment.'"⁽¹⁾

"His Highness the Duke of York hath similarly honoured the regiment of the Lord Falconberg as to own it, which is now called 'The Duke of York's Regiment,' the Lord Falconberg and the officers being still continued."⁽²⁾ It is not stated why these regiments were preferred, but doubtless there were special reasons.

Army Re-
organised.

In a few weeks' time the army had been re-organised by the appointment of men of influence and loyalty; and then it was announced: "After so many changes of officers in several regiments, you may now take a list of all the officers in his Excel-

⁽¹⁾ *Parl. Intel. and Merc. Pub.* "This day, June 2, his Excellency General Monck presented Colonel Unton Croke unto the King's Most Excellent Majesty, who on the behalf of himself and officers of his regiment tendered a humble and loyal address, which was most graciously received, and the Colonel had the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand, as also that of the Dukes of York and Gloucester." This address is not singular; most of the corps presented one.

⁽²⁾ *Merc. Pub.*, No. 27.—Lord Falconberg married Mary, daughter of Oliver Cromwell. He seems to have been in the secret of the Restoration, or favourable to it, as Monck conferred upon him the regiment which was Sir Arthur Hazelrig's, on the 25th of April, the day on which the Parliament met that restored Charles II. He claimed the King's pardon, promised to all who should lay hold of it within forty days. He became much in favour with the King. In 1672 he succeeded his uncle, John, Lord Bellasyse, as Captain of the Band of Pensioners. Created Earl of Falconberg by William III. in 1689.

lency's (Albemarle's) own regiment, both horse and foot, wherein there is no mutation."⁽¹⁾ The raising of some new regiments was also ordered, but it does not appear that the order was carried into effect: amongst others, a regiment of foot to be raised in Southwark, and commanded by Sir Edmund Bowyer; and another raised in the whole county, commanded by Sir Robert Parkhurst, one of the gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber.⁽²⁾

In this country a standing army had ever been repugnant to the feelings of the people, and it is remarkable how tenaciously this sentiment was maintained when almost every State on the Continent had adopted it as a necessity. A monarchical party would be presumed to be favourable to so powerful an instrument of government, but not so here; it was more abhorrent to Cavaliers than to Roundheads, for in the imagination of the former the army was inseparably associated with regicide and field-preaching.⁽³⁾ A body-guard for the Sovereign has always been conceded, but a permanent force beyond that was regarded as a menace to the liberties of the subject. The Commonwealth Government had, however, kept on foot one far more numerous than any of our kings had ever ventured to maintain. "As long as the soldiery continued," said Sir William Morrice, one

Standing
Army.

(¹) *Merc. Pub.*, 18th Aug., 1660. The names of most of the new colonels of regiments will be found in *Parl. Intel.*, July 9 to 16, and *Merc. Pub.*, July 12 to 19, 1660.

(²) *Parl. Intel.*, from Aug. 6 to 13.

(³) Macaulay, i. 154.

of the principal Secretaries of State, and a prominent agent of the Restoration, "there would be a perpetual trembling in the nation: that they were inconsistent with the happiness of any nation."⁽¹⁾ And that sentiment was re-echoed throughout that period by other members. As early as July 2nd, 1660, in a debate as to ways and means, a member said, "That the charge of the army and navy, and the interest, came to £6,000 a day; that it was inconsistent for an army and Parliament to subsist together, and that the Train-bands were sufficient." To all which Colonel Birch added, "That the people's liberties were not safe with such an army; that though he was a member of it himself, yet he moved it might be paid off; that £260,000 would disband ten regiments of foot. The House agreed to set aside every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday to go upon means to raise money for that purpose."⁽²⁾

It may be assumed that the King considered a standing army a necessary appendage of royalty—confirmed in this view by what he had seen abroad—but then he required a force on which he could rely. Clarendon, who knew the temper of those veteran troops, convinced him that, instead of their being a security to his Government, there was the utmost danger of their shaking it to the foundation. So Charles concurred in the disbandment.

Albemarle's
Advice.

In order to avoid giving offence to this large body of Republicans, it was of essential importance that the disbandment should be judiciously and gradually

⁽¹⁾ *Parl. Hist.*, iv. 116.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

effected. On August 23rd the Committee of the Commons appointed to make arrangements for the disbanding put themselves in communication with the Lord General, to advise with him on the most commodious way of effecting the object, and they expressed to him, "as the desire of the House, that no new officers or soldiers should be entertained in the room of any that die or be removed." On August 30th the Lord General's plan was received and adopted. Amongst other recommendations he considered it absolutely necessary that three regiments of foot and one troop of horse should be continued for defence of the garrisons of Scotland, which would leave three regiments of foot and eleven troops of horse to be disposed of there. That the forces in field and garrison in this country could be forthwith disbanded as should be thought fit, for which purpose he would assemble the regiments in the most convenient places, in order that the arms should be secured for his Majesty's service, except the swords of the infantry, which were their own; and the horses, swords, and pistols of the cavalry, which were the troopers' own.⁽¹⁾ Upon which it was ordered by the House, "that the Committee do propose a Bill for the Disbandment."

⁽¹⁾ It was subsequently arranged that satisfaction should be made to the men, so that the arms should be delivered up. That soldiers should find their own side-arms and horses was the custom of the period. So in France, Louis XIII. writes to the Marquess of Gordon in respect of the *Gendarmes Ecossais*:—"J'ay commandé que l'on vous donne aussy cent paires d'armes et de pistolets, dont la valeur sera déduite sur les monstres." (See Michel, *Les Ecossais en France*, ii. 234.)

According to the provisions of the Act passed for the occasion,⁽¹⁾ the money for the disbandment was to be raised by a heavy poll-tax according to rank and position. Every Duke was to pay £100; a Marquess, £80; an Earl, £60; a Baron, £40. The eldest sons of age to pay a proportionate sum; a Baronet and a Knight of the Bath, £30; a Knight Bachelor, £20; an Esquire, £10.⁽²⁾ Every widow a third of what her husband would have paid. "Parsons or Vicars," Judges, Doctors of Law and Medicine, the Lord Mayor of London, the Sheriffs and Aldermen, all were rated in proportion, down to "every one of what estate or degree soever, above sixteen years of age, 6d."; and what would be gratifying to a Chancellor of the Exchequer—if the order had been punctually observed, which it was not—the said rates were to be paid in London within six days, and in the country within twelve, after the passing of the Act.

Order of Disbandment.

The order in which the regiments were to be disbanded was to be determined by lot, until the whole be disbanded, "yet so as" (the reason for which is not apparent, unless for fear of the Scotch) "four companies in Hull, four in Berwick, and two in Carlisle shall be last disbanded."

"That the Regiments of their Royal High-

(1) 12 Car. II., c. ix. His regnal years are dated from 30th Jan., 1649, the one in which he succeeded *de jure* on the death of his father; hence the first statute passed by the Parliament that recalled him is known as 12 Car. II.

(2) "6th Oct., 1660.—I paid the great tax of poll money, levied for disbanding the army till now kept up. I paid, as an Esquire, £10, and one shilling for every servant in my house." (Evelyn, ii. 155.)

nesses⁽¹⁾ the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and the Lord General's of Horse and Foot, shall be last disbanded, except the Companies mentioned aforesaid."⁽²⁾ This no doubt was a compliment paid to them, but as no mention is made of "The Royal Regiment," it must be inferred that the King had substituted the Duke of Gloucester for himself in the Colonelcy of one of the two favoured regiments.⁽³⁾

A special Act was passed (6th Sept.) for enabling soldiers to exercise any trades in any cities or corporations, although they had not served seven years as apprentices.

"All garrisons in England and Wales, and in the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey, were to be placed, in respect of their fortifications, walls, and number of men, as they were in the year 1637" (the year in which Charles I. took the field against the Parliament), "and the soldiers in them disbanded and discharged, except such of them as his Majesty shall think fit otherwise to dispose of and provide for at his own charge."

"That if his Majesty shall think fit to continue

(¹) Sept. 10th, 1660.—One of the Lords' Amendments on this Bill was that the word "Royal" be inserted before "Highnesses," which was agreed to (*Commons' Journals*, viii. 160), so that this appears the first occasion of this official designation.

(²) "Mr. Secretary Morris brings a message from the King, That it is his Majesty's desire that the Regiments of the Dukes of York and Gloucester be not disbanded by lot, but left to be the last disbanded."—"Resolved, that the Regiments of the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and the Lord General's, shall be last disbanded." (*Commons' Journals*, 6th Sept., 1660.)

(³) On the very day of this Act receiving the Royal Assent, viz., 13th Sept., 1660, the Duke of Gloucester died of small-pox, in London, aged 21, much regretted. He gave promise of being the best of the brothers.

in Scotland only three regiments of Foot and one Troop of Horse of the English forces now there, they were not to be paid at the charge of this kingdom."

All arrears due to the men were to be made good, and a week's pay added as a gratuity by the King. Passes were to be given to the discharged men, who were prohibited from going about armed.

After the Lords and Commons had listened to the King's speech, the Lord Chancellor delivered himself of one of those long, prosy and pedantic speeches, which were the style of the day. Giving precedence to the subject of the disbandment, he spoke as follows:—

Clarendon's
Speech.

"The King hath thanked you for the provision you have made, that there be no Free-Quarters during the time the army shall be disbanding, and hath told you what he will do with the money you have given him, if there should want wherewithal to disband it. And now I hope you will all believe that his Majesty will consent to the disbanding. He will do so, and yet he does not take it unkindly at their hands who have thought that his Majesty would not disband the army; it was a sober and a rational jealousy. No other Prince in Europe would be willing to disband such an army, an army to which victory is entailed, and which, humanly speaking, could hardly fail of conquest wheresoever he should lead it. And if God had not restored his Majesty to that rare felicity, as to be without apprehension of danger at home or from abroad, and without any ambition of taking

from his neighbours what they are possessed of, himself would never disband this army—an army, whose order and discipline, whose sobriety and manners, whose courage and success, hath made it famous and terrible over the world. . . . His Majesty knows they are too good Englishmen to wish that a standing army should be kept up in the bowels of their own country; that they who did but ‘in bello pacis gerere negotium,’ and who whilst an army lived like good husbandmen in the country, and good citizens in the city, will now become really such, and take delight in their benefit of that peace they have so honestly and so wonderfully brought to pass. That the King will part with them as the most indulgent parents part with their children, for their education and preferment; and that both officers and soldiers, after they are disbanded, shall always find such countenance, favours and reward from his Majesty, that he doubts not but if he should have occasion to use their service, they will again resort to him with the same alacrity as if they had never been disbanded.”⁽¹⁾

There was an object to be served in this eulogy, yet they deserved all the encomium lavished on them. Many of them were the younger sons of gentlemen and tradesmen, whom Cromwell's high pay had induced to enter the service; and, in the words of another contemporary, “they were certainly the bravest, the best-disciplined, and the soberest army that had been known in these latter ages.

(1) *Lords' and Commons' Journals.*

Every soldier was able to do the functions of an officer.”⁽¹⁾

Cost of Dis-
banding Army
and Navy.

On the 6th November, Sir W. Doyly reported to the House the progress made in the disbandment, by which report it appeared that twenty-three garrisons, seventeen regiments of Foot and five of Horse, six ships (for the navy was to be reduced at the same time) had been paid off in England and Scotland, constituting more than half of the existing military force. £250,402 18s. 5½d. had already been disbursed, and £435,416 10s. 4d. more was required to pay off the remainder of the army and nineteen ships. Over and above this it was estimated that £150,000 more would be required “for casual and uncertain charges.” These sums amount in the aggregate to £835,819 8s. 9½d. Deducting the charges for paying off the navy, which amounted to £161,132 0s. 10d., the remainder, viz., £674,687, is the cost of the disbandment of the army. The money appointed by Parliament for these expenses was—

Assessments amounting to	£203,000
Poll Bill estimated at	210,000
	<hr/> £413,000.

so that there was an outstanding balance to be provided for, amounting to £422,819. Any delay in the discharge of the remaining Forces would, of course, add to the amount. The total of the monthly charge of the undisbanded Forces, by land and sea in England and Scotland, was estimated at £32,653 12s.⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ Burnet's *Own Times*, i. 290.

⁽²⁾ *Coms. Jours.*, viii. 176.

The delay did occur. On the 23rd November the Committee reports that there remain to be disbanded the following regiments and garrisons:—

	£	s.	d.
The accounts of these regiments and garrisons are stated; but for want of money we cannot pay them off.	Col. Ingoldsby's Regt. of Horse.	13,738	5 8
	Col. O'Neale's " "	16,398	0 5
	Life Guard of Horse ⁽¹⁾	6,074	19 7
	Isle of Wight	3,710	10 6
	Brown Sea Castle	123	3 4
	Walmer Castle	425	1 0
	Deale Castle	518	3 8
	Tilbury Fort	787	9 8
	Landguard Fort	867	1 2

	£	s.
The accounts of these regiments and garrisons are now in stating; and by estimate require the several sums here mentioned.	General's Regiment of Foot	13,728 5
	General's Regiment of Horse	18,197 12
	Duke of York's Regiment of Horse	14,520 18
	Sir Ralph Knight's Regt. of Horse ⁽²⁾	18,197 12
	Hereford	52 13
	Guernzey	1,936 7
	Jersey	3,440 16
	Portsmouth	629 19
	Tower of London	70 4
		<hr/> 113,417 1
Eighteen Ships, which by estimate made up to this day will require the sum of		138,132 10
In all for England		251,549 11
and for Scotland		17,930 10

The Committee also reports that one hundred thousand pounds having been borrowed in the City, raised in ten days on the faith of the King's word, "that not one penny of the assessments should be

⁽¹⁾ Doubtless the King's, as the disbandment of the General's was to be reserved to the last.

⁽²⁾ Some mistake here. The *Parl. Intel.* (October 1st to 8th) says: "The Duke of York's regiment of Horse, commanded by Sir Ralph Knight." One of the two was, no doubt, the regiment of the late Duke of Gloucester.

employed to any other use till the advancers were reimbursed, by which means the Commissioners cannot dispose of any part of the same; and so the whole business of disbanding is at a stand for the present."

O'Neale's and Ingoldsby's regiments were, however, paid off in a manner not very intelligible. The House agreed, on a recommendation of the Committee, "that the Treasurers for the two last months' assessments may grant assignations for paying off and disbanding the two aforesaid regiments."⁽¹⁾ The troops of these regiments were scattered over several counties, and these counties were ordered to provide the necessary funds for paying off immediately "the said two regiments, amounting each to sixty-three pounds *per diem*."

On the 17th November, 1660, the *Mercurius Publicus* was enabled to state, "if moneys come in upon the Act they will all be disbanded within a fortnight's space." But, notwithstanding that several regiments had expressed their thanks for the liberal treatment extended to them, yet a serious amount of disaffection was manifested by the disbanded, and on the 17th December it was considered necessary to issue a proclamation, "that all officers, soldiers, and dissolute and disaffected persons, not being able to give a good account of themselves, should remove to

⁽¹⁾ *Coms. Jours.*, viii. 190.—"We must not forget to acquaint you," says the *Parliamentary Intelligencer*, No. 52, "that the officers of this regiment (R. Ingoldsby's), finding the money fall too short to pay off all their men, to avoid the least discontent that might arise amongst the soldiery, did, out off their own pay, disburse so much money as discharged all the private soldiers."

twenty miles distance from the cities of London and Westminster, and the suburbs thereof, within two days of this date, and not to return without leave, on pain of imprisonment, and his Majesty's high displeasure." (1)

The Lord Chancellor, in his speech at the dissolution of the Convention Parliament, referred to the circumstances. A plot was on foot to release the prisoners at Newgate under sentence for the murder of the late King, and with a view to the re-establishment of the Republic; risings were to take place in the north, in the west, and in the capital. Ludlow was to head the insurgents, Monck was to be "secured," and Windsor Castle and the Tower of London to be surprised. Fortunately the plot was discovered, suspected ringleaders were arrested, and thus the risings were frustrated. (2)

Republican
Plots.

The danger seemed to have been averted by the timely action of the Government, when all at once a small body of fanatics plunged the metropolis into fresh alarm. These were the "Fifth-Monarchy men," as they were termed, who believed that the period of the Millennium was at hand, when our Lord would descend from heaven and erect the fifth universal monarchy. Cromwell had dispersed them in 1653. Believing themselves instruments to accomplish the divine purpose, they resolved that they would never sheathe their swords till Babylon, as they called earthly monarchies, became a "hissing

Fifth-Mon-
archy Men.

(1) P.R.O. *Privy seals and signed bills*, Chancery Bundle, 345.

(2) *Parl. Hist.*, iv. 172.—*Parl. Intel.*, Dec. 10th to 17th, 1660.

and a curse," and "the kings of the earth should be bound in chains, and their nobles in fetters of iron." Actuated by these pious sentiments, these misguided men sallied from their little conventicle in Coleman Street, under cover of darkness, on Sunday evening, 6th January, 1661, about fifty in number, all well armed, under the leadership of one of their preachers, Thomas Venner, a wine-cooper.⁽¹⁾ The watch was soon beaten off, some of them being killed, and a detachment of the Train-bands, which was on guard in the City, retired in disorder before them. Believing that, under divine aid, "one should subdue a thousand, and put ten thousand to flight," their success increased their confidence; this raised a belief that they were a portion of a larger body, prepared to rise and join them. Then the Lord Mayor, collecting hastily what force he could, appeared on the scene, and commanded them to lay down their arms, which they refused to do; upon which he charged them, when some were killed, and the rest made their way to Cane Wood, between Highgate and Hampstead, where they passed the night.⁽²⁾

Parliament had been dissolved, and the King was at Portsmouth, attending the embarkation of the Queen-mother and the Princess Henrietta on their return to France. Had these madmen postponed their outburst for a couple of nights, there would not have been a soldier of the army to oppose them.

(1) Echard.—Neale's *History of the Puritans*, iv. 278.—*Cal. State Papers*, Dom.

(2) Ken or Cane Wood, part of a large forest formerly belonging to the See of London.

Fortunately, Monck's trusty Coldstreamers and his troop of guards, not yet disbanded, were on the spot. "The next morning," says Clarendon, "the Council met early, and having received an account of all that had passed, they could not but conclude, that this so extravagant an attempt could not have been founded on the rashness of one man, who had been always looked upon as a man of sense and reason. And thereupon they thought it necessary to suspend the disbanding the General's regiment of Foot, which had the guard of Whitehall, and was by the order of Parliament to have been disbanded the next day; and writ to the King 'to approve of what they had done, and to appoint it to be continued till further order,' to which his Majesty consented. And this was the true ground and occasion of the continuing and increasing the guard for his Majesty's person, which no man at that time thought to be more than was necessary." ⁽¹⁾

It will be perceived that there is an apologetic tone in this statement, for it was one of the charges brought against Clarendon at his impeachment in the House of Commons that he had advised the King "to raise a standing army, and to govern by that." ⁽²⁾

The Lord-General sent Colonel Sir Thomas Sandys with a troop of horse and two hundred men of his own regiment to dislodge the rioters, which was partially effected, and some prisoners were made. The rest, having rallied, on Wednesday morning

Rioters De-
feated.

⁽¹⁾ *Life*, i. 477.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, iii. 311.

returned to London, and reappeared in Threadneedle Street behind the Exchange, where they beat back a party detached from the guard there.⁽¹⁾ For in the non-existence of an organised police, military detachments were daily on duty, ready for any emergencies. In London there were twelve regiments of foot and two of horse, under the orders of a Commission of Lieutenancy. Reinforcements of the Train-bands arriving, the rebels moved about from point to point; there was street-fighting at College Hill and Maiden Lane; then they crossed Cheapside into Wood Street, where they were charged by the King's Life Guard, but only nine horsemen could be brought to face them, the rest taking to flight; but the Fanatics were eventually all slain or wounded, with the exception of about ten who took refuge in an ale-house near the Postern, and there they defended themselves with the courage of desperation, until a seaman persuaded some to accompany him to the roof of the adjoining house, and so descended upon them;⁽²⁾ and the Fifth-Monarchists were all killed or disabled, with a loss of twenty of their opponents.

The King's
Guard.

The King was attended by a body guard; in fact it would have been strange had he not, when such a

(1) Pepys gives an amusing account of his proceedings on the occasion: "9 Jan.—Waked in the morning at 6 o'clock by people running up and down talking that the Fanatiques were up in arms in the City. And so I rose and went forth: when in the street I found every body in arms at the doors. So I returned (tho' with no good courage at all, but that I might seem not to be afraid) and got my sword and pistol, which however I had no powder to charge. The street full of Train-bands, the shops shut, and all things in trouble." (i. 140.)

(2) "One Lambert, who afterwards for his good service was made Commander of the Duke's Yacht." (*James II.*, i. 389.)

compliment was usually conceded to every General commanding an army. "His Majesty," we are told, "made choice of eighty gentlemen to be of his life guard, commanded by Lord Gerard."⁽¹⁾ They are mentioned by most of the contemporary writers as having escorted the King in his triumphant entry into London.⁽²⁾ Charles proved himself a constitutional Sovereign at this time by allowing his personal guard to be disbanded with the rest of the troops, thereby submitting himself to the Act of Parliament. He granted to every soldier on his disbandment a week's pay over the due wages (as has already been stated), and in a State Paper reciting the corps to which the royal bounty became due, among them is mentioned "Satellites Domini Regis vocati the Lifeguards."⁽³⁾ Albemarle had a life guard. Gumble (one of his chaplains) writes, "After Monck's arrival in town, when the secluded members had retaken their seats, by the earnest persuasion of his friends, he settles a life guard of horse, consisting of two hundred gentlemen (for at this time the public security and peace was very much bound up in his life and welfare); the command of these was given to Captain Philip Howard, a noble person."⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ *Parl. Intel.* for May 28th, 1660.

⁽²⁾ Whitelocke, 702. Gumble, 102. *Merc. Pub.*, May 24th to 31st. *Baker's Chron.*, 616.

⁽³⁾ *Pells Issue Roll*, Michaelmas, 1660. P.R.O.

⁽⁴⁾ Gumble, 402. He was seventh son of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Berkshire, and direct ancestor of the Earls of Suffolk. Appointed in 1659 Captain of Monck's life guard; knighted by Charles II. 25th May, 1660, at Canterbury, whither he had marched with his troop to meet the King on landing. Pepys speaks of him as "one of the finest persons that ever I saw in my life" (iii. 14).

Alleged Attack
on the King.

But although the special resentment of the disbanded was directed against Albemarle, whom they regarded as the author of their dispersion, "whose person they wished to secure (you know what that security is," said Clarendon in his speech to the Lords on December 24),⁽¹⁾ the same "security" was doubtless intended for the King. As early as the 28th June, the day appointed for a general thanksgiving for the Restoration, the public journals record that as the King was passing from the guard-chamber in Whitehall to his closet, a person stood near up to the wall with a sword beneath his cloak. The vigilance of the serjeant-at-arms in attendance detected the glittering of the weapon, and he seized the man, and took from him the naked sword."⁽²⁾

"And so ended this mad attempt of a furious zeal," says the Duke of York, "which seemed in a manner designed by Providence to convince the King and his ministers of the necessity of providing better for the safety of his person and the security of the Government than hitherto they had done, by letting them see what dangerous spirits lay still scatter'd about in the body of the kingdom."⁽³⁾ But although Albemarle may have uttered the sentiment "that the nation itself by its own loyalty could preserve the King's and its own interests,"⁽⁴⁾ yet the known disaffection of the disbanded soldiers, the reasonable inference that a few men would not thus have risen

(1) See Clarendon's speech. *Parl. Hist.*, iv. 185.

(2) *Parliamentary Intelligence*, June 27th to July 2nd, 1660.

(3) *James II.*, i. 390.

(4) Gumble, 402.]

without the hope of external assistance, and sad experience of the serious outrage which could be effected even by a few, concurred to give prominence to this event, and afforded a pretext—doubtless eagerly sought after by the Court party—for the first establishment here of standing forces in time of peace.

The Duke of York “proposed to the Council, which was called in the time of the insurrection, that they should write to his Majesty, and desire him to stop the disbanding of the General’s troop of Horse Guards and the Regiment of foot, which were to have been pay’d off that day,⁽¹⁾ and that he should rather think of raising more men for the security of his person and government, which advice his Majesty followed, and immediately gave order for the raising a new Regiment of Guards of twelve companies, to be commanded by Collonel John Russell, and a regiment of horse of eight troops, of which the Earl of Oxford was to be collonel, and also a troop of horse guards to be commanded by the Lord Gerard; he likewise sent for the Duke’s troop of guards which were then at Dunkirk.⁽²⁾ Moreover, he gave out commissions to the Earl of —, and the Earl of —, for regiments of horse, and that they should name

Measures
thereon.

⁽¹⁾ Albemarle’s Regiment of Horse was disbanded on this day in the country towns where the respective troops were quartered :

“The Duke’s own troop under Capt.-Lieut. Philip Wilkinson, at Lewes.
Major Johnson’s troop, at Reading.
Captains Simmel’s and Padou’s, at Ipswich.
Captains Wilmot’s and Nower’s, at Maidstone.”

Kingdome’s Intelligencer.

⁽²⁾ Afterwards referred to.

their under officers, who likewise had commissions, and should list men in their severall counties who were not to be in present pay, but in a readiness in case there should be any occasion for their service.”⁽¹⁾

The Lord Chancellor does not appear to have intended more than a suitable provision for the safety of the King, and seems to have opposed the Duke’s project of engrafting upon this event the establishment of a large military force,⁽²⁾ from which we may infer the falsity of the charges afterwards made against him by his enemies in the House of Commons. “It may be wondered at,” continues the Duke of York, “that the Lord Chancellor and the Earle of Southampton, the King’s chief counsellors, who had been eye-witnesses of the insurrections and rebellions in the time of King Charles I., and what he suffered for want of good guards, should now be so careless of the King’s safety as not to have advised him to secure himself from such dangers for the future.”

In the history of the Grenadier Guards, it is stated that “on the 23rd of November, 1660, a few days after the last of the Republican regiments, except Monck’s Coldstreamers, had been disbanded, he (Charles II.) granted a commission to Colonel John Russell to raise a regiment of Foot Guards, to consist of twelve companies of 100 men each,” and “it is, therefore, from that period that the King’s Royal Regiment of Guards under his command dates its existence.”⁽³⁾

⁽¹⁾ *James II.*, i. 390.

⁽²⁾ *Lister’s Life of Clarendon*, ii. 66.

⁽³⁾ *Vol. I.*, pp. 43, 69.

Now, unfortunately, Colonel Russell's commission cannot be found, and it is remarkable that so important an appointment should be lost. But there is no evidence whatever of Charles II. having possessed a regiment of Foot Guards prior to Venner's insurrection. The Duke's statement is explicit; his authority in such a matter is unquestionable. "The King gave order for the raising a *new* regiment of Guards, to be commanded by Colonel John Russell." The tenor of his remarks confirms this view, complaining, as he does, of the carelessness of the Lord Chancellor in not having previously advised the King to provide himself with a suitable guard. It is clear that if the whole army were disbanded, the King's sole military protection—irrespective of the Trainbands—would consist of the Yeomen of the Guard and the Gentlemen Pensioners. It was, therefore, natural and reasonable that he should desire to possess a guard which should consist of something beyond a mere escort or guard of his chamber, which, no doubt, he intended sooner or later; but whether he gave this commission to Russell on the 23rd November or not, the men were certainly not raised. There would have been no difficulty in procuring them, as is evidenced by the facility with which the new regiments were subsequently formed; moreover, soldiers were not then subjected to the long training which the technical exigencies of modern warfare demand, and they were considered fit for duty almost as soon as they were equipped. But not one of the newspapers of the day or contemporary writers

mentions a regiment of Foot Guards previous to Venner's insurrection. One author of the period has the following passage:—"Nor was any effectual resistance made against them" (*i.e.*, the Fifth-Monarchists), "by the city arms or the *new rais'd Guards*, till the Duke of Albemarle brought his own regiment of Foot (not yet disbanded) up among them, who, by being old soldiers, quickly put a check to their desperate madness."⁽¹⁾ And another writes:—"All the Train-bands of London and Westminster were under arms, and the *King's Guards*, and most of the noblemen mounted, and put all their servants on coach-horses for the defence of his Majesty and the peace of the kingdom."⁽²⁾ But the "*new rais'd guards*" were the King's Life Guards.

In the registers of the Privy Council the lots are recorded on the days on which they are drawn, (although it did not follow that there was money in hand sufficient to pay off the corps as they were drawn). One of the provisions of the Act of Disbandment was that if Parliament were not sitting the glasses containing the names of the regiments were to be brought by the Commissioners to the Privy Council, the members of which were to draw and open the sealed papers. Thus they arrived at the lots which were reserved to the last, *viz.* :—

"Lord Hawley's Regiment of Horse,
The Life Guard, commanded by Captain Sir P. Howard,
Duke of Albemarle's Regiment of Foot,
Sir Ralph Knight's Regiment of Horse,
Duke of Albemarle's Regiment of Horse."

⁽¹⁾ Skinner's (Webster's) *Life of Monk*, p. 353. ⁽²⁾ Rugge's *Diurnal*.

As the regiments of the Dukes of York and Gloucester and the Lord General's were disbanded the last, there is no difficulty in distinguishing them. From the non-appearance of the King's Life Guard it is fair to presume that it had been already disposed of. It may appear curious that Charles, who had the power of "disposing and providing at his own charge," should have allowed his personal guard to be broken up, unless he had an intention of re-forming on the first opportunity a *corps d'élite*. Possibly it was done to show his acquiescence in the view taken by Parliament, and to prevent any bad feeling on the part of the Republican troops. At all events, there is no doubt that the King had a life guard; and unless it were subsequently disbanded, why should he issue orders for its formation under its former commander on the Venner disturbance?

Now as to the question whether these "new Life Guards. rais'd" guards were the King's Life Guard, a passage in Macpherson throws light on the matter:—"General Monck came to give the Duke of York an account" (of the rising of the Fifth-Monarchy men). "Some Gentlemen Horse left unpaid off, that the Lord Gerard had listed for Horse Guards, and the General's own troop, commanded by Sir Philip Howard, were sent after them." And again, "They returned to London, there they (the rioters) made head till the Train-bands grew numerous, and the Duke of York, with the General, and twenty horse (all that were left on the guard), and

abundance of nobility and gentry, came to St. Paul's"(1)

The "Life Guards," or "Horse Guards," for both designations are used indiscriminately, being chiefly composed of young gentlemen, were not "old soldiers," and these "Gentlemen Horse," the "new rais'd guards," did not behave as gallantly as they should. A contemporary records the coming up of "a party of the King's Life Guard" (on the Wednesday's conflict with the Fanatics), "commanded by Collonel John Corbett, and at Wood Street this collonel charged them with nine of his party, for the rest did a little desert him, and retreated to the upper end of Cheape Side, calling out for foote, which does a little stain on their redd scarves."(2) The *Kingdome's Intelligencer* corroborates this statement: "Colonel Corbet took only twenty horse with him, he gallantly charged the rebels (for the truth is those that charged were no more). These nine gentlemen who so bravely went on with the colonel were Sir Horatio Carew, Lieutenant-Colonel Luntley, Major Bennet Henshaw, Captains Cloaver, John Madan, Henry Chapman, Timothy Doughty, Mr. Adderly, and Mr. Ralph Skipwith; as for the rest of the troop (to say no worse) we have not their names. Of his Majesty's Life Guard hurt in the charge was Captain Doughty, cut in the head, and Captain Madan, shot in the thigh."(3)

(1) *Original Papers*, i. 19. Also, see *James II.*, i. 389.

(2) *Rugge's Diurnal*.

(3) January 7th to 14th, 1660-1. There were some seasoned soldiers in the Life Guards, who had been commissioned officers in the Royal

As the King submitted his Body Guard, as well as the regiments of his brothers, to be disbanded, there would be no apparent reason why his regiment of Foot Guards—had he possessed one—should have been exempted. A regiment raised in November would have been capable of taking the guard in January; but the General's regiment had the guard at Whitehall on the very morning of the day on which it was to be disbanded, and "the Trained-bands of Westminster, whose honour is now to be on guard at Whitehall."⁽¹⁾ On December 29th, at the funeral of Mary, Princess of Orange, the *cortége* proceeded through a lane of Guards of the Duke of Albemarle's regiment of Foot.⁽²⁾

Sir Thomas Sandys, who commanded the troops sent to attack the rebels in Cane Wood, was unattached at the time; for the *Parliamentary Intelligencer* (August 18th, 1860) announced "the Earl of Northampton to be Colonel of the regiment, late Col. Lenthal's, and Sir Thomas Sandys to be his Lieut.-Colonel." So that at the Venner affair his regiment would have been disbanded, but he was shortly afterwards appointed to the Life Guards. His commission is at the P.R.O.⁽³⁾

army, and some who had held considerable commands. Colonel Corbet was then a corporal of the Life Guard.

(1) *Parl. Intel.*, December 17th to 24th, 1660.

(2) *Merc. Pub.*, January 3rd to 10th, 1660-1.

(3) "Sir Thomas Sandys, Knight and Baronet."

"Charles, by the Grace of God, &c., we do by these presents constitute you to be one of the Lieutenants of our own troop of Horse Guards, whereof we have, by commission, appointed our right trusty, &c., Charles Lord Gerard to be Captain." (*Dom. Ch. II., No. XXIX.*)

• Burnet writes that "there was a great talk of a design, as soon as the army was disbanded, to raise a force that should be so chosen and modelled, that the King might depend upon it, and that it should be so considerable that there might be no reason to apprehend tumults any more. The Earl of Southampton expressed his dislike of the efforts of the military Government; and Clarendon promised he would divert the King from raising any force than might be deemed necessary to make a show with, and who might disperse unruly multitudes. Clarendon persuaded the King to use great caution till the whole army should be disbanded."⁽¹⁾

And, no doubt, great caution was required, when such sentiments as the following were expressed by members in a House on so pleasant terms with the King, that he desired "that it be for ever called 'The Healing and Blessed Parliament.'⁽²⁾ On the debate on the Militia Bill (November 16th), MR. PIERREPOINT moved for casting out this Bill, because there was martial law provided in it. SIR HENEAGE FINCH said, that whoever brought in martial law deserved to be made the first example of it. Neither could he ever consent to bring themselves to be wards to an army, when they were endeavouring to free themselves from being so to the King."⁽³⁾

No wonder, therefore, that Charles acted on prudent counsels, although possibly at personal risk, and not a hint was thrown out by any member of Parlia-

⁽¹⁾ *Own Times*, i. 287.

⁽²⁾ *Parl. Hist.*, iv. 169.

⁽³⁾ *Parl. Hist.*, iv. 145.

ment that the King was raising twelve hundred men as Foot Guards. In his speech to both Houses on the adjournment on September 13th, 1660, when thanking them for their liberality in raising his Revenue to £1,200,000 *per annum*, he thus expressed himself: "And I do promise you, which is the best way I can take to gratify you, I will not apply one penny of that money to my own particular occasions, what shift soever I may make, till it is evident to me that the public will not stand in need of it; and if it do, every penny of it shall be disbursed that way, and I dare say I shall not be the poorer for it."⁽¹⁾

On the 15th November, 1660, a "humble petition of the innholders and victuallers of New Windsor" was presented to the House of Commons, "complaining that about three hundred soldiers, lately listed in his Majesty's Castle of Windsor, are quartered upon them by several numbers in a house; and, besides 6*d.* *per diem* a piece which the Petitioners are ordered to lend them, they are to allow them fire, candle, dressing of their diet, and lodging, which makes the burden so heavy that they are ready to sink under it, and humbly praying redress in these their grievances."⁽²⁾

These men were "listed" for the garrison of Windsor Castle, of which Lord Viscount Mordaunt, second son of the Earl of Peterborough,⁽³⁾ was constituted Constable. By the Act of disbandment, as has been already stated, garrisons were to be restricted to such as existed in 1637; this was one of the old

⁽¹⁾ *Parl. Hist.*, iv. 122.

⁽²⁾ *Commons' Journals*, viii. 184.

⁽³⁾ *Collins's Peerage*, iii. 326.

ones. According to an "establishment of the several castles, garrisons, forts and places that are kept in his M^{ties} pay and service,"⁽¹⁾ the garrison of Windsor Castle was to consist of three hundred men. This was at the time that a plot was discovered to murder the King and the Duke of Albemarle, and to seize upon the Castle of Windsor and the Tower of London.⁽²⁾ Three hundred men were also raised for the defence of that fortress."⁽³⁾

Beatson in his *Political Index*, a general Directory published 1806, in his list of the army, has: "Foot GUARDS, 1660, November 23rd, John Russell, Colonel." But, as immediately before he gives:—

"ROYAL REGIMENT of HORSE GUARDS, 1661, August 27th," which is manifestly incorrect, his assertion is not to be relied upon.

Millan in the *Succession of Colonels from their rise to 1742* (a copy of which is in the library of the Royal United Service Institution), which is much more likely to be correct, gives:—

"1st Foot Guards, John Russell; date of commission, 1660;" and as, according to the old style, the legal year terminated on the 24th March, this would admit of the date mentioned by the Duke of York as the time of the formation of the King's regiment of Guards.

The *Mercurius Publicus*, 1660–1, announced, on

(¹) P.R.O. *Dom. Ch. II.*, No. 29, January 23rd, 1661.

(²) *Parl. Intell.*, December 10th to 17th, 1660.

(³) "Warrant for payment of the sum of £650 upon account for payment of the three Companies raised for the defence of the Tower of London." (P.R.O., Bundle 347, 13th November, 1660.)

Feb. 4th, that "The new rais'd Regiment for his Majesty's Life-Guard of Foot, are arm'd and muster'd, whose officers are commissioned by his Majesty and the Lord General, the Duke of Albemarle." This can refer only to Colonel Russell's regiment, which if raised in November, would certainly have been armed before this date; for Monck's Coldstreamers were armed, and their officers settled so as to "require no mutation."

Rapin, referring to this period, states: "Thus, the army which had so long been the terror of England, was reduced to Monck's single regiment; but in disbanding the army the King introduced a *novelty* which displeased many people. He formed for his ordinary guard two regiments, one of horse and one of foot, in imitation of the practice in France and other kingdoms. This was so much like a standing army, which the English have always opposed, that many begun then to fear that the King had ill designs upon the public liberty, his predecessors having no other guards than the Gentlemen Pensioners."⁽¹⁾

To guard against the danger to the State while the army was being disbanded, volunteer corps were formed in all directions under the leading men of the counties; and, as it has been mentioned, the Trainbands assisted in the duties lately discharged by the regular forces. "In Yorkshire, Sir Francis Boynton, one of the Deputy-Lieutenants for the East Riding, under John Lord Bellasis, the Lord-Lieutenant,

Volunteer
Corps.

(¹) *History of England*, ii. 621.

raised (besides his regiment of Foot) a gallant Troop of Gentlemen Volunteers, who rode their own horses, and mustered them at Kilham."⁽¹⁾
 "The loyal gentry of Northumberland mustered at Bocken-field Moor one hundred and twenty-six gentlemen Volunteers, besides their servants, all bravely armed and horsed."⁽²⁾

"The forces raised at Coventry by that loyal gentleman, Sir Arthur Cayley (Deputy-Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief of that city), and others, are for the present dispensed with from their constant duty, as the city is settled in so good a posture, that upon the least notice they are ready, at an hour's warning, to be in arms for his Majesty's service."⁽³⁾

"On Friday, the 11th Jan., his Majesty was pleased to establish the Lord General's, the Duke of Albemarle's regiment of foot, and on Saturday (Jan. 19th) Lieut.-Colonel Morgan drew forth eight companies into Tuthill Fields⁽⁴⁾ (the other two companies being upon the guard), when he acquainted them how much they were obliged to his Majesty, who not only had made good all his gracious promises formerly made to them and the rest of that army, but had particularly chosen them, both officers and soldiers, to be still continued."⁽⁵⁾

But the regiment had to be discharged from its

⁽¹⁾ *Mercurius Publicus*, from Dec. 31st to Jan. 20th, 1660-1.

⁽²⁾ *Kingdome's Intelligencer*, from Feb. 11th to 18th, 1660-1.

⁽³⁾ *Mercurius Publicus*, No. 5, from Jan. 31st to Feb. 7th, 1660-1.

⁽⁴⁾ The portion of land between Tothill Street and the Vauxhall Bridge Road, Pimlico, and the Thames.

⁽⁵⁾ *Kingdome's Intelligencer*.

State pay before it could enter upon Royal pay. A want of the requisite funds created a delay. We read in the *Kingdome's Intelligencer* (Jan. 21st to 28th, 1660-1), "The Commissioners for disbanding the army, have disbanded all the Forces and garrisons in Scotland and England, except the General's Regiment of Foot and Life Guards, four companies in Carlisle and four garrisons, which had long since been disbanded, had not the slow coming in of monies obstructed the completing of that service." At length the Commissioners saw their way, and the following account of the nominal disbanding of the Duke of Albemarle's Life Guard and Regiment of Foot appeared in the *Mercurius Publicus* :—

"WESTMINSTER, Feb. 20th, 1660.—On Thursday, the 14th of February, the Commissioners disbanded the Lord General's Regiment of Foot and Life Guard of Horse, on Tower Hill (being the only remaining land forces of the Army), with more than ordinary solemnity. Sir William Doyly,⁽¹⁾ William Prynne, Esquire,⁽²⁾ Colonel Edward King,⁽³⁾ and Colonel John Birch,⁽⁴⁾ four of the Commissioners⁽⁵⁾ sent

Albemarle's
Regiment.

(1) Of Shottisham, Norfolk; Knight, created a Baronet in 1642, M.P. for Great Yarmouth.

(2) A learned lawyer and voluminous writer. Was pilloried twice and lost his ears for libels on the Queen of Charles I., afterwards imprisoned by Oliver Cromwell in Mount-Orgeul Castle, Jersey; subsequently joined in the Restoration, and was appointed Keeper of the Records in the Tower. M.P. for Bath.

(3) M.P. for Great Grimsby.

(4) M.P. for Leominster, afterwards for Penrhyn. One of the secluded members.

(5) The Commissioners were to receive "One peny in the pound" for their services, by Instruction of the House, 10th Sept., 1660.

from Westminster in a coach to Tower Hill, about ten of the clock on Thursday, 14th of this instant, (being Valentine's Day), where the Lord General's Regiment of Foot and Life Guard appearing with their arms before them, they ordered five companies of the Foot to draw up in a ring about Mr. Prynne, and the other five about Colonel Birch, who made two short speeches to them to this effect: 'That God had highly honoured them in the eyes and hearts of the King and Kingdom; yea, and made them renowned throughout the world and to all posterity, in stirring them up to be eminently instrumental in the happy Restoration of his Majesty to his Royal Throne, the Parliament to their privileges, and our whole three kingdoms to their ancient laws, liberties, and government, without any battle or bloodshed, for which signal services his Majesty and the whole kingdom returned, not only their verbal, but real thanks, the King having freely given them one week's pay by way of gratuity, over and above their wages, and the Parliament and kingdom provided monies for their just arrears, which, upon their disbanding, should be forthwith paid for their use into their officers' hands. That this regiment, as it was the first of all the army who promoted his Majesty's glorious restitution to his Crown, so it hath this signal badge of honour now put upon them, to be the last regiment disbanded; and although they were ordered and declared to be disbanded in relation to the kingdom's pay, yet they were immediately to be advanced to his Majesty's

service as an extraordinary Guard to his Royal person, whom God long preserve in health, and happiness.'

"Which speeches being ended, they all cried out with reiterated shouts and acclamations, 'God save King Charles the Second!' waving and throwing up their hats, displaying their ensignes, beating their drums, and discharging their muskets over and over, till commanded to draw off to their respective colours, when they were all called over and disbanded by Mr. Prynne, Colonel King, and Colonel Birch; Mr. Prynne causing all those five companies he disbanded to lay down their arms at his feet, in testimony of their disbanding, and then to take them up again as entertained by his Majesty in service."

"The same ceremony took place with the Life Guard of Horse, most of whom are since entertained by his Majesty for his Horse Guards."

"After this ceremony, and when the Lord-General's own regiment had been formed into an extraordinary guard to the King, the regiment marched back in regimental order to their quarters, by the house of the Lord Mayor, who, having notice thereof, came forth to the door, on whom the soldiers bestowed several volleys of shot as they passed by him; most of the officers dined with him, desiring him to provide moneys for payment of their arrears out of the City's three months' present assessment, designed to them by the Commissioner's order. Their stated arrears amounted to £13,038 16s. 3d., beside

£3,800 advanced to them to defray their quarters; in all £16,838 16s. 3d."

It was not altogether a pleasant return for civic hospitality to "dun" the Lord Mayor at his table, but it proved that it was the want of funds that had delayed the interesting ceremony just narrated. It appears that the City had been backward in its payments; and on the 17th November it was ordered by the House of Commons: "That Sir John Robinson and Sir John Fredericke do give intimation to the Lord Mayor, this afternoon, that this House doth take notice of the great Neglect of the City of *London* in collecting of the Mōney upon the Poll Bill, and upon the Acts of Assessment, in the several and respective wards; and that they speedily collect and pay in the same."

Troops of Life
Guards.

The King's Troop of Life Guards, having previously existed, was ready for muster on the 4th of February.⁽¹⁾ The Duke of York's Troop arrived quickly from Dunkirk, and the Lord-General's had simply been transferred to royal pay. These three troops were separate, not regimented—each one forming in itself a small regiment—the King's Troop of course ranking first. The commissions of the officers are dated 26th January, 1660-1. A list of the officers of both Horse and Foot Guards is to be found in the Public Record Office, also in the *Mercurius Publicus* from the 14th to the 21st March, 1660-1. It will be perceived that the King's Troop was a very aristocratic one. The officers down to

⁽¹⁾ *Merc. Pub.*, No. 5., Jan. 31st to Feb. 7th, 1660-1.

its own control as a protection against the encroachments alike of the Crown and the standing army, on the liberties of the people.

The origin of the Militia has already been described in this work (Vol. I., pp. 120, 253).

Origin of the Militia.

In the original Latin militia denoted the soldiery—those who make arms a profession. In its modern and more restricted sense, it refers to the bands of inhabitants armed for the country's defence, and therefore in contradistinction to regular or professional troops, and in this sense it is first used in the reign of Elizabeth.⁽¹⁾ The term Militia was also used to denote the military government, and not the men.⁽²⁾ Mr. Whitlocke,⁽³⁾ in addressing the House on the 1st March, 1640, expressed himself thus: "I do heartily wish that this great word—this new word—the Militia—this harsh word, might never have come within these walls."⁽⁴⁾

(1) "The Trained-bands" also first appear in this reign, being the "hablest men" selected from the levies. (See *n.*, vol. i., p. 346, of this work.)

(2) *Ibid.*, i. 448.

(3) Afterwards Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke, or Whitlocke, M.P. for Marlow.

(4) Rushworth, vol. i., pt. III., p. 525. The speech of this member is worth noting. " * * * that this power of the Militia is not in the King only, appears in this: that the power of money is not in the King; but it will be granted here, that the power of money is solely in this House, and without the power of money to pay the soldiers, the power of the Militia will be of little force.

"But if the power of the Militia should be in the King, yet the power of money being in Parliament, they must both agree, or else keep the sword in the scabbard, which is the best place for it.

"It is true that the King by his Tenure may require the service in war of those that hold of him; but if they stay above forty days with him, unless he gives them pay, they will not stay any longer.

"Against insurrections at home the Sheriff of every County hath

Charles I. and
the Militia.

It was the question of the command of the Militia that had precipitated matters between Charles I. and the Parliament. The Commons claimed the right to nominate the Lieutenants of Counties and their Deputies, who should be accountable to them alone for their conduct; and maintained that the Act of Philip and Mary—in especial reference to the appointment of Lieutenants—was repealed by that of 1st James I., *c.* 25, *s.* 7, whereby all the earlier Statute Law was revived and brought into operation; and that the King had therefore no statutory authority for appointing or arraying the people in arms under Lord-Lieutenants. The question, therefore, how far the command over the Militia did inherently reside in the Sovereign was debated with much heat and animosity on both sides. The two Houses not only denied the prerogative of the Crown—the legality of which claim might be somewhat doubtful—but also took into their own hands the entire command of the

the power of the Militia in him; and if he is negligent to suppress them with the *Posse Comitatus*, he is finable for it. Against invasion from abroad every man will be forward to give his assistance; there will be little need to raise forces when every man will be ready to defend himself, and to fight *pro aris et focis*. *

“As to offensive war against a foreign enemy, if the King will make it of himself, he must of himself pay the army, which his own revenue will hardly afford; nor can he compel any of his subjects to serve him in these wars; none can by law be pressed to serve in the war, but by Act of Parliament.

“I shall conclude that the power of the Militia—in my humble opinion—is neither in the King alone nor in the Parliament; but if anywhere in the Eye of the Law, it is with the King and Parliament both consenting together.”

* The present device worn on the caps of the Militia. Possibly from Cicero, “*De Natura Deorum*,” B. III., chap. xl.: “*Est enim mihi tecum pro aris et focis certamen.*”

Militia, of the illegality of which there could be no doubt. ⁽¹⁾ It is therefore obvious why the new Parliament of Charles II., under the immediate influence of the Court, resolved primarily, when it proceeded to settle the Militia upon a constitutional basis, "that the sole supreme command of all military forces was in the Crown."

The old scheme was revived, of disciplining a certain number of inhabitants of every county, who were not to be compelled to march out of their counties unless in cases of invasion or actual rebellion; nor in any case out of the kingdom. They were to be exercised at stated times, and when drawn out on actual service were subject to certain penalties, which were to be inflicted by the Civil Magistrate—a provision showing the national aversion to military Government. The officers had, however, power to inflict fines, and upon default to imprison.

The alteration in the law consisted in placing the militia of each English county under the immediate command of the Lord-Lieutenant, who had the appointment of his deputies and of all officers, with a power reserved to the Crown of approving or displacing them at any time. The force was to consist of Horse and Foot, provided by or at the expense of the owners of property—not of land exclusively—in the proportions set out in the Act. Its numerical strength was undefined, being dependent on the wealth and numbers of proprietors; nor does it appear that any exact estimate of the probable number

Lord-
Lieutenants.

⁽¹⁾ Jacob's *Law Dictionary*, ed. Tomlins, 1797, s.v. Militia.

available under these statutes was ever laid before Parliament.⁽¹⁾

No person was bound to provide a horse, horseman and arms, unless he had a real estate of £500 a year, or a personalty of £6,000; nor a foot soldier and arms if he had not £50 a year in land, or a personal estate of £600 in goods and money. A joint obligation of providing a horseman and arms might be imposed upon two or three individuals.

If any Papist or reputed Papist, chargeable in respect of his estate, refused to take the oath, the Lieutenant and his deputies, or three of them, might charge the estate with the payment of the yearly sum of £8 for every horse, horseman and arms, and of 30 shillings for a foot soldier and his arms.

No person bound to furnish horse or foot, or to contribute thereto, was compelled to serve in person, but might find a substitute, to be approved of by the Captain of the company.

Every man who served in his own person, or by such substitute as was accepted, was to give in his name to be listed, that is, written on the list.⁽²⁾

The Lord-Lieutenant had power to assemble the Militia, to arm and array them, to form them into troops, companies, and regiments; and in case of insurrection or invasion, to lead, or cause them to be led, as well within the several counties, cities, and

⁽¹⁾ In the debate of the 15th March, 1688-9, the number of the Militia is spoken of as 150,000 men.—*Parl. Hist.*, v. 182.

⁽²⁾ This appears to be the origin of the now common term—enlistment.

places for which they may be commissioned, as also into any other counties for the suppressing all such insurrection or invasion, according as he should receive instructions from His Majesty. But nothing in these Acts might extend to the giving any power for marching any subjects out of the realm; otherwise than as was sanctioned by the laws of England.

The men were to be enrolled for three years. The general muster or exercise of regiments was not to take place more than once a year; the training of single companies not above four times a year, unless by special sanction of His Majesty, or of his Privy Council; and such single companies or troops were not at any time to be continued in exercise above two days, and at the general muster and exercise not above four days.

In case of apparent danger, it was lawful for His Majesty, during the space of three years, to raise such sum or sums of money for defraying the cost of the whole or such part of the Militia aforesaid, as His Majesty should find himself obliged to employ, in order to the quiet and security of the nation, the said sum not exceeding £70,000 in one year.

Every musqueteer was to bring with him half a pound of powder and the same weight of bullets; and every match-lock man three yards of match; every horseman a quarter of a pound of powder and the same weight of bullets, at the charge of him who provided the said soldier with arms, on pain of 5s. fine for every omission. A pikeman was

to be armed with an ashen pike not under sixteen feet long.⁽¹⁾

Rates on
Counties.

For the furnishing ammunition and other necessities, the Lieutenants were empowered to lay rates on their respective counties, not exceeding in the whole in any one year the proportion of one fourth part of one month's assessment in each county. But no charge could be made upon any master, fellow, or scholar of any College in either of the Universities, or of Winchester, Eton, or Westminster, or of any other free schools; or any reader, officer, or minister of the same, or of any hospitals, or almshouses in respect of any profit arising from the said places; or upon any houses or lands belonging to Christ's Hospital, Bartholomew's, Thomas, and Bethlehem. But their tenants were to pay for so much as their leases were yearly worth over and above the rent reserved.

Carriage could be charged for the conveyance of ammunition and stores, 6d. per mile being allowed outwards for every waggon and wain with five horses or six oxen, and for every horse out of a waggon, 1d.

No trophy-money⁽²⁾ could be raised until the accounts of the preceding year had been examined and passed by the Justices in Quarter Sessions.

Every person charged with finding a horseman was, on pain of a fine of 5s., to pay on demand 2s. a day to each trooper, for maintenance of man and

horse; and every one charged, for a foot soldier, 1s. a day to each foot soldier⁽¹⁾, for so many days as he was absent from his dwelling or calling, unless some certain agreement had been made to the contrary. In cases of invasion or insurrection, whereby occasions happened for calling out the Militia into actual service, the person charged was to furnish his soldier with one month's pay; to be repaid him by His Majesty's Treasury.

The pay of the officers during such time as they were with their soldiers, not exceeding one month on actual service, was to be provided by the King; and the lieutenants were authorised to dispose of so much of the fourth of £70,000 a month, to the non-commissioned officers for their encouragement, as might appear expedient to them. Pay of Officers.

The Lord-Lieutenants thus became, with the sanction of Parliament, military officers of the highest rank within their counties; and they were entrusted with the power of ordering a search (under a commissioned officer and a constable) for arms, and of seizing them when in the possession of persons whom they judged to be dangerous to the peace of the kingdom.

One of the great objects which the Parliament had in view being to organise, under authority proceeding from the Crown, all men trained to the use of arms, a direct prohibition was laid down (14 Car. II., s. 27) against the continuance of Train-bands beyond Country
Train-bands
abolished.

the 25th March, 1663, those of the City of London and their auxiliaries alone excepted. These regiments continued in existence, similar in organisation to the subsequent Local Militia, until 1794, when, by the 34 Geo. III., c. 81, and 35 Geo. III., c. 27, they were formed into six regiments of militia, the services of which were limited to twelve miles from the City. By 36 Geo. III., c. 92, they were reduced to two regiments of 600 men each; and again, by the 1 Geo. IV., c. 100, they were reduced to one regiment, with its service extended to any part of Great Britain, forming the present Royal London Regiment.

The militia of the Tower division, commonly known by the name of the Tower Hamlets, having always been under the command of the Constable or Lieutenant of the Tower, was to continue under his command, as it has to the present time.

Disputes having arisen between the regular forces and the militia, it was ordered by the King that all militia, whether horse or foot, in the absence of the Lord-lieutenant and deputies, should take their orders from the officer commanding the troops.⁽¹⁾

Such was the basis on which the militia was placed by the Legislature in this reign for protecting the realm against foreign or domestic violence. But, standing forces having been established, the Crown became independent of the militia, which consequently was neglected. Charles's wars consisted chiefly in

⁽¹⁾ Dated "Whitehall 15. Nov. 1660." S. P. Dom., Ch. II., Entry Book, No. 11.

naval actions; the troops served on board the ships, and the Navy being very strong, there appears to have been little apprehension of invasion. James II. was a soldier, and, mistrusting the Protestant feeling of the militia, wished to rely on the royal troops. Charles no doubt entertained the same sentiments, though he had not the courage to avow them. Throughout his reign, the retention of troops nominally in his pay, but often left at free quarter, was a constant source of complaint.

On the 3rd November, 1673, the House resolved "that the Standing Army is a grievance." On the 12th January, 167 $\frac{3}{4}$, his Majesty was addressed "To give order for the militia of London, Westminster, and Middlesex to be ready at an hour's warning; and the other militia of the kingdom at a day's warning, for the suppressing any tumultuous meetings of Papists, or other malcontent persons whatsoever."

On the 13th the King replied, "That he was always ready to preserve them in their liberties and properties, and to secure the Protestant religion; and would take care the militia should be in readiness, upon all occasions, to secure the Government."

On the 18th November, 1678, the King was again addressed "To give orders to the Lord-lieutenants of the several counties to raise a third part of the militia for a fortnight, to secure the peace of the kingdom, and that the sheriffs may be ready with the *posse comitatus* to assist in case of any insurrection." "Ordered that the said Committee do bring in a Bill,

danger." This was during the excitement of the alarm of conspiracy raised by Titus Oates.

22nd November.—“We, your Majesty’s loyal subjects, taking into consideration the imminent dangers from Popish practices and conspiracies, and conceiving that nothing can so well resist their attempts as some part of the militia—the settled legal forces of this Kingdom—actually in arms (on whom your Majesty may rely with the greatest confidence and security), hereby humbly desire your Majesty to command your lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants to draw up one third part of the militia for fourteen days, and after they are dismissed another third part for the same time.” The Lords reported (23rd November) that, “Upon inspection of the statutes, they found that without further authority the militia cannot be kept up above twelve days in one year, and that in some of the counties the Lord-lieutenants had already mustered their men some of these days. Not but that by his Majesty’s direction (as appears by the statute) they may be kept up longer, but their Lordships do not find that there is any power to raise money to pay them.”⁽¹⁾

This appears to be an evasion; for as just stated, “in case of apparent danger it shall be lawful for the King during the space of three years to raise such sums for the defraying of the whole or part of the militia,” &c.—(Car. II. c. 3, s. 23.)

4th December.—“His Majesty, to prevent all misunderstanding which may arise from his not

passing the late Bill of the militia, is pleased to declare that he will readily assent to any Bill of this kind, so as the whole power of calling, continuing, or not continuing of the militia together, be left to his Majesty to determine as he shall find most expedient."

The above extracts indicate the current of popular feeling during this reign. The militia of the southwestern counties did good service at the commencement of James II.'s reign, in taking the field against the Duke of Monmouth, and assisting the royal troops in quelling the insurrection. But after Sedgemoor, James devoted himself to the training of the army for his own purposes and interests. William III. brought over his Dutchmen, and his warlike temperament delighted in soldiers. In the next reign, Marlborough's victories ensured the glory of standing forces; the Militia was neglected; musters, except in the City of London, became almost forgotten, and it was not until the year 1756 that the threatening prospect of French invasion, and the absence from England of most of the regular troops in the Seven Years' War, turned attention to the revival and re-organisation of the national force. A Bill, consequently, for the better ordering of the Militia in England, passed in the Commons 10th March, 1756, ⁽¹⁾ but was thrown out in the Lords. ⁽²⁾ It was re-introduced by the original mover, Mr.

Militia
neglected.

George Townshend, on the 14th December of that year, and was sent up to the Lords, where it underwent several amendments, one of which was the reduction of the number of men to one-half of what the Commons had proposed, viz.: to 32,340 for the whole kingdom of England and Wales. After several conferences the two Houses agreed, and the Bill received the royal sanction. ⁽¹⁾ No provision, however, was made for clothes, arms, accoutrements, and pay; or the Act would have become a money-bill, in which the Lords could have made no amendments. In order, therefore, to prevent any difference between the two Houses, the Commons left the expense of the Militia to be regulated in a subsequent Bill during the following session. ⁽²⁾ But though this Act was approved by a large party, its practical enforcement frequently produced discontent and local disturbance.

ballot.

The introduction of the ballot for Militia-men—the important feature of this Act (32 and 33 Geo. II.)—caused great dissatisfaction, ⁽³⁾ nor was this feeling

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, 782.—The Protestant Dissenters of all denominations petitioned against the Bill, on the ground that it was proposed to enact that the Militia should be exercised on the Lord's Day.

⁽²⁾ Smollett, *Hist. of England*, iv. 47.—The real object of this intentional omission was, doubtless, that the Commons should retain to a considerable extent the control of the Militia, an Annual Pay and Clothing Act being necessary to enable the Crown to train and exercise the force.

⁽³⁾ The following correspondence shows that the ballot was not the only disturbing cause:—

“*Earl Stanhope to Mr. Secretary Pitt,*

“October 3rd, 1757.

“A meeting of Deputy-Lieutenants at Seven Oaks (Kent), for putting the Militia Act in execution, by proceeding to the enrolment of the militia, was interrupted by a storm of rain, and the meeting was interrupted

confined to one class, for so few gentlemen offered to serve in the Militia in 1758, that the Act had to be suspended until the next year.⁽¹⁾ At York Assizes four persons were found guilty of high treason in obstructing the Militia Act, and received sentence of death accordingly.

On May 30th, 1759, the King acquainted the Parliament, through Mr. Secretary Pitt, of his having received repeated intelligence of the actual preparations making in the French ports to invade this kingdom, and of the imminent danger of such an invasion being attempted, to the end that His Majesty may (if he think proper) cause the Militia, or such part thereof as shall be necessary, to be drawn out and embodied, and to march as occasion shall require.⁽²⁾ The House of Commons readily assented

Preparations
against
Invasion.

by the intrusion of a considerable number of the lower sort of people, who seemed to have been spirited up to obstruct the execution of the law for the establishment of a militia, and whose chief reason seemed to be the want of any provision for their pay, concerning which their demands seem'd to run very high, some of them talking of half-a-crown, and others of eighteen-pence a day. The Deputy-Lieutenants, finding that without violent methods, which they were unwilling at first to use, they could not for the present go on with the business of the day, adjourned to this day se'nnight. The mob afterwards proceeded to the Minister's (Mr. Curtis), whose windows they broke, and afterwards to the Duke of Dorset's, at Knole, to which they threatened mischief, but were dispersed on the seizing of some of the ringleaders."

"Mr. Secretary Pitt to Earl Stanhope.

"Give me leave to express the sense I have of the prudent step in adjourning the meeting, as no good is to be expected from a militia forced down upon the people while under their unhappy delusion. Some proper examples may be necessary for the honour of the Law and Magistracy. Persuasion, and curing deluded minds by friendly conviction, must do the rest, at a more favourable opportunity, or the duration of this shattered country will, I fear, not be long."

Mahon's History of England, iv., App. xx.

⁽¹⁾ *Ann. Reg.*, i. 89 and 112.

⁽²⁾ *Parl. History*, xv. 940.

to the proposal. The country responded with a like alacrity, and cheerfully undertook to bear the additional burdens which would necessarily be imposed, and a warlike spirit began to diffuse itself through all ranks of the people, which the Ministry carefully cherished and cultivated. The example set by the City of London, to raise subscriptions to be appropriated as bounty-money to such persons as should engage in His Majesty's service, was speedily followed by other communities in all parts of the kingdom. "Such care and diligence were used in disciplining the Militia, that before the close of the year the greater part of these truly constitutional battalions rivalled the regular troops in the perfection of their exercise, and seemed to be, in all respects, as fit for actual service."⁽¹⁾

The force was to consist of infantry only; no man was to be enrolled under five feet four inches in height. The quota that each county should provide is given in the *Annual Register* (ii. 273), and in *Grose* (i. 32). Up to July of that year, 17,436 men had been raised. The supplies granted by Parliament for the service of the year 1758 included the sum of £100,000 towards defraying the pay and clothing for the Militia.⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ Smollett, iv. 473.

⁽²⁾ *Ann. Reg.*, i. 131.

"Estimate of the charge of Cloathing for the embodied Militia for the year 1760:—

	£	s.
851 Sergeants each at	3	10
846 Corporals „ „	1	15
683 Drummers „ „	2	0
16,598 Private Men „ „	1	10
Total £30,722."		

Commons' Journals, xxviii. 851.

Notwithstanding the necessity that existed at that time for national defence, the Militia appears not to have advanced in popularity among the country-people. The *Annual Register* records that "an alarming riot took place at Newcastle, owing to the misunderstanding of the Militia laws, in March, 1761. Four companies of the Yorkshire Militia were attacked by a large body of pitmen, who killed one officer and two privates. The Militia fired, and one hundred of the rioters were killed or wounded."⁽¹⁾ Again, on the 3rd February, 1770, "a great riot happened at Chirk in Denbighshire to oppose the execution of the Militia Act in that county."⁽²⁾

Unpopularity
of the Militia.

The burden of obligatory service undoubtedly fell most heavily on those persons who were in actual business, or in continuous employment. Substitutes were allowed, but of course their services had to be purchased. Churchwardens might, with the consent of the parish, offer volunteers, provided they were fit for service, and of the proper height. If no volunteers presented themselves, the Deputy-Lieutenants proceeded to ballot. The bounty paid to these volunteers was defrayed by a parish rate. The balloted men were either to be sworn in, or to produce eligible substitutes. To obviate some of the hardships, a Bill was passed for better regulating the payment of the weekly allowance made by Act of Parliament for the maintenance of poor families during the absence of Militia-men embodied and

(1) *Ann. Reg.*, iv. 82.

(2) *Ibid.*, xiii, 71.

ordered out on actual service.⁽¹⁾ It was also for the first time permitted that the Militia should be billeted.⁽²⁾

All persons not labouring under bodily incapacity were liable to be drawn, except such as were specially exempted in the Act. These were peers of the realm, officers and non-commissioned officers in the regular service, clergymen, constables, seamen, apprentices, poor men having three children born in wedlock, persons more than forty-five years of age, and others.

Any person chosen by lot, Quakers excepted, refusing to take the oath or find a substitute, if the regiment was not embodied, forfeited £10, and at the expiration of three years was liable to be drawn again. If the regiment was embodied, he was to be dealt with by court-martial, as he was then under the Mutiny Act. The money penalty was to be applied to the procuring a substitute, and the remainder, if any, to the regimental stock-purse. As for Quakers they were always in trouble on this score, for they refused either to bear arms or pay for a substitute upon religious grounds, and the law prescribed that their property should be seized.⁽³⁾

In 1786 (26 Geo. III., c. 107) the three years service was extended to five; and other alterations were made. In order that the commands should be in the hands of persons interested in the stability of the kingdom, every commissioned officer of the

⁽¹⁾ 31 Geo. II., c. 26; also 43, 51, 55 Geo. III.

⁽²⁾ 32 Geo. II., c. 20.

⁽³⁾ By the 15 & 16 Viet., c. 50, Quakers were not to be committed to prison if there were not sufficient goods to distrain.

Militia, except the adjutant, who was appointed by the Crown, was required to be possessed of a certain estate, according to the rank in which he served.⁽¹⁾ A property qualification existed to some extent in the regular army by the purchase system.

	1757. 30 Geo. II., c. 25.	1786. 26 Geo. III., c. 107.	1865.
Dep. Lieut. or } Colonel . . }	An Estate of the annual } value of £400 . . . }	200 } 1,000 }	£600
	Or heir to double the } amount }	600	400
Lieut.-Col. or } Major . . }	£300	400	300
Captain . . .	200	200	200
Lieutenant . .	100	50	
Ensign . . .	50	20	

The Lord-Lieutenant had the power to discharge, when the regiment was not embodied, one field officer and a number of company officers who had served five years, equal to the number of qualified persons who had given notice that they were willing to serve. This was with the view of circulating military knowledge and discipline among the country gentlemen, but at all events it provided an opportunity of getting rid of inefficient or obnoxious officers, which was perhaps the real object. This fact of there being others ready to fill the places of officers

⁽¹⁾ For the purposes of qualification counties were divided into two classes; those of the second were less wealthy than others, the qualification was consequently smaller.

By the 17 & 18 Vict., c. 10, s. 748, qualification is required only from Captains upwards. The 32 Vic., c. 134, s. 38, abolishes it altogether.

removed, is a proof that the militia had recovered its former popularity; and it has ever since continued to increase in numbers and in the confidence of the country.

The Lieutenant of a County may act as colonel of any regiment or battalion of Militia of such county during such time as there shall not be any colonel appointed for the command of the same. (33 Geo. III., c. 22.)

If any Militiaman shall be drunk at the time of his exercising, he shall, on conviction on oath before a justice, forfeit 10s.; and if he refuses to pay immediately, he shall by order of such justice be set in the stocks for one hour.

For disobedience or insolence he shall forfeit for first offence 2s. 6d., in default four days' imprisonment; for the second, 5s. or seven days; for the third or any other, 40s. or fourteen days, and not exceeding one month. (33 Geo. III., c. 25.)

The precedence of Militia regiments during the continuance of the war was decided by lot at a meeting of Lord-Lieutenants on March 3rd, 1793.⁽¹⁾ It has since been re-arranged.

Scotch Militia.

In Scotland, until the Restoration, there cannot be said to have been, except in burghs, a national force for the defence of the people. Beyond periodical "Wappenschaws," which were enforced by the earliest Acts of Parliament, nothing appears to have been done for the collecting and massing of the armed population. In time of war or rebellion proclamations

⁽¹⁾ *Ann. Reg.*, xxxv. 13.

were issued, charging all sheriffs and magistrates of burghs to direct the attendance of the members of the respective wappenschawings to join the King's host. (A.D. 1482, c. 90.) During the civil war of the seventeenth century, the army which had been brought into existence by the enthusiasm of the Covenanters was supported by levies and assessments apportioned by district committees of war appointed by Parliament, whose duties and powers were modelled on those of the Commissioners of Array in England.

The Parliament, which met at Edinburgh on January 1st, 1661, made offer to the King of a Militia of 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse, to be ready upon summons to march with forty days' provisions to any part of His Majesty's dominions, to oppose invasions, to suppress insurrections, or for any other cause in which his authority, power, or greatness was concerned.⁽¹⁾ This body, in fact, constituted a regular standing army.

By an Act of 1663, the constitution of this Militia was ratified: 6s. Scots was to be allowed to each footman, and 18s. Scots to each horseman, for every day of the rendezvous. Warrants were issued to the Commissioners, empowering them to fine absentees. The penalties of officers who deserted or "demitted" the service were, for a Colonel of Foot or a Captain of Horse, 2,000 marks; a Lieut.-Colonel of Foot or a Lieutenant of Horse, 1,800 marks, and so on.

The heritors of every shire were to allow yearly

(1) *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, Burnet, i. 374.

£48 Scots to the trumpeter of a troop, and £12 Scots to every drummer of a company. Two rendezvous were to be held yearly; but in regard to the distances of the bounds and other difficulties in drawing together, the regiment which was raised in Argyll, Bute, or Dumbarton, was to have only one rendezvous in the year.

By the Act of 1669 (Stat. vii.; p. 554.), "For settling the Militia," persons enrolled were to be free from all other levies. Officers were to be well affected to the Established Church; and they and the soldiers had to take the oath of allegiance.

In 1685 (viii., 463) an Act was passed, discharging the ordinary rendezvous of the Militia. Meetings of the Militia were prohibited during the King's (James VII.) pleasure. The Privy Council was enjoined to take steps to dispose of the arms in the best way for the King's service (c. 37).

In 1689, William III. being on the throne, the Scotch Militia was ordered to be in readiness for securing the Protestant religion, the laws and liberties of the kingdom. Proclamation was made for calling out the militia, horse and foot, on this side of the Tay, and the fenciblemen⁽¹⁾ in shires where there was no Militia.

On the 13th April of that year the assembly

(1) Fencible corps were a species of Militia, raised for the defence of particular districts and for a limited time. It was a voluntary hiring on their part, and their services were at first restricted to the county in which they were raised. They were, subsequently, moved from their districts, and several corps served in Ireland. The term is now obsolete in the British Service, with the sole exception of the ROYAL MALTA FENCIBLE ARTILLERY.

of the Militia was restricted to two days. But the successes of the Highlanders, the defeat of General Mackay, and the declaration of war against France, necessitated more active measures, and more efficient services than those supplied by an undisciplined Militia. Ten or twelve regiments were raised in Scotland, which, amidst the sparse population of the North, materially diminished the sources from which irregular troops would have been drawn; and the Militia fell into abeyance, or, more correctly, into non-existence.

The Earl of Tweeddale, Lord High Chancellor, in his opening address to the Parliament of Scotland on April 21, 1693, thus expressed himself:—"and for your safety and security, a competent additional force to what you have, with a suitable fund to maintain them, and if it shall be thought fit to set up a country militia again, methods must be thought of for training them, with less trouble and expense than hath been formerly." ⁽¹⁾ Nothing seems to have come of this recommendation, but in the same year was passed an "Act for the levies," which provided for furnishing yearly during the war, 1,800 men, "to be chosen by lot from idle and vagabond persons throughout the country, and from the young unmarried men who live by wages or hire." They were to receive £20 Scots on enlistment, and were to be levied only for three years' service.

The British Government continued to employ Fencibles. Fencibles, but the Militia was ignored: as is seen in

(1) *Stats. of Scotland*, ix., App. p. 71.

the supplies granted for the service of the year 1760 :—

“For defraying the charge of the embodied Militia of the several counties in South Britain, and the fencible men of Argyleshire, and Lord Sutherland’s battalion of Highlanders in North Britain, for 122 days, from the 25th December, 1759, to the 25th April, 1760, £102,006 4s. 8d.”⁽¹⁾

By the 18th Geo. III., c. 59, and 33 Geo. III., c. 36, officers of corps of Fencibles in Scotland, and of the Militia in England, when serving together, were to rank according to the dates of their commissions. Lieutenants and quarter-masters of the regular service might retain their half-pay and any honorary rank they had obtained while serving with these corps. Sergeants would retain their Chelsea Hospital pay in like manner.

sh Militia
rejected.

On March 4th, 1760, an attempt was made to obtain for Scotland the same militia system that existed in England; and a Bill was introduced by Mr. Gilbert Elliot “to consider the laws in being which relate to the Militia in that part of Great Britain called Scotland.”⁽²⁾ It was supported by petitions from various public bodies in Scotland, approving of that wise and salutary measure, the establishment of a regular Militia in South Britain; and stating that the petitioners considered they were entitled, by the articles of the Union, to be on the same footing; and expressing the dread into which that defenceless part of the country was thrown from the late threatened invasion, by a contemptible

⁽¹⁾ *Coms. Journs.*, xxviii. 851.

⁽²⁾ *Coms. Journs.*, xxviii. 800.

number of the French under Thurot. ⁽¹⁾ But the Bill was thrown out by a majority of 110 (194 v. 84), the Secretary-at-War, Lord Barrington, being one of the tellers of the majority. All the Scotch members but two voted for it.

Lord Mountstuart ⁽²⁾ made another ineffectual attempt to introduce a Scotch Militia Bill in 1776. Passed at last. Sir Gilbert Elliot in supporting it, said that had a well-ordered militia existed in Scotland in 1715 and 1745, those rebellions would have been crushed in the commencement. ⁽³⁾ The Bill was lost by a majority of 112 v. 93, chiefly on the grounds of expense, although a force of only 6,000 men was applied for. It was not until 1797 that a legislative enactment conferred what the Scotch had so long desired; and a Bill was brought in by Mr. Secretary Dundas "for

⁽¹⁾ An Irishman in the French service, who had so signalised himself by his courage and daring, that his name became a terror to all the merchant ships of this kingdom. On January 10th, 1760, he landed 1,000 men, soldiers and sailors, at Carrickfergus, and having overpowered the small garrison of about 150 men of the 62nd Regiment, plundered the town. On leaving Ireland he was overtaken near the Isle of Man by Captain Elliott, with three frigates, who engaged his little squadron, and he was killed. His real name was Farrell; his grandfather had followed the fortunes of James II.; but his grandmother's family having been of some position in France, he had adopted her name. See his *Memoirs*, by J. F. Durand, also his *Life in Popular Songs of Ireland*, edited by J. Crofton Croker, in *Percy Society's Pub.*, vol. xxi.

Major Donkin in *Military Collections*, &c., A.D. 1777, p. 171, says, that when Thurot landed near Carrickfergus, the 10th Regiment of Foot, cantoned in the vicinity of Kilkenny, began their march at midnight, under Lieut-Colonel Gisborne, and the greater part reached Dublin in twenty-four hours (notwithstanding the inclement season), a distance of 56 Irish miles, of 2,240 yards each, upwards of 70 English miles.

⁽²⁾ Eldest son of the Earl of Bute, created a Marquess in 1796.

⁽³⁾ *Parl. Hist.*, xviii. 1229.

raising and embodying a Militia in North Britain." (37 Geo. III., c. 103.) There were now no surviving heirs of James VII.; Prince Charles, commonly called "The Young Pretender," having died in 1788. Scotland was settling down into habits of peaceful commerce, and there could exist no reason for mistrusting her armed population. The Highlanders, however, considered it as anything but a boon, and several serious disturbances occurred among them in consequence; their idea being that they were "to be trepanned to expatriation by this Act, but when it was explained to them they submitted with complete satisfaction." ⁽¹⁾ It was, however, considered prudent to augment the military force in the North.

⁽¹⁾ *Ann. Reg.*, xxxix. 52. An instance of the advantage of an armed local force occurred at the commencement of this year. Four French men-of-war having embarked a body of 1,400 soldiers, sailed from Brest, and ultimately anchored in the Harbour of Ilfracombe, about the 20th of February, 1797. The enemy scuttled several merchantmen, and would probably have destroyed all the shipping there, had they not been apprised that a body of troops was marching against them. This was the North Devon Regiment of Volunteers, commanded by Colonel Orchard. So, upon thus leaving Ilfracombe, they brought up in a bay near Fishguard. On the 23rd of February, the whole force having landed, advanced into the country, expecting, it has been said, to be joined by numbers; but the whole country was roused, and the people gathered from all parts to oppose them. In the course of the day more than 3,000 were collected, of whom 700 were well-trained Militia. Lord Cawdor put himself at their head, and marched directly against the enemy, whom he reached before the setting in of night. But instead of attempting either attack or defence, the French commander intimated by letter his desire to negotiate for a surrender. Lord Cawdor replied by requiring them immediately to surrender themselves prisoners of war. They complied, and laid down their arms on the following day.—*Ann. Reg.*, xxxix. 88.

The name of the General who commanded the French was Tate, an American. Sir Walter Scott notices the affair in his "Life of Napoleon Buonaparte," vol. ix. and App.

The Shropshire regiment, commanded by Colonel Clive, was the first corps of English Militia brought over the Border. ⁽¹⁾ In 1802 the Militia laws of England and Scotland were consolidated, and the North British Militia was fixed at 7,950 men. Under the existing Statute (17 & 18 Vic. c. 106.) 10,000 men can be raised in ordinary; and an additional 5,000 in time of war by the 23 & 24 Vic. c. 94.

Ireland was not deprived of the defence of her Irish Militia. native population so long withheld from Scotland; for during the vigorous administration of the Duke of Ormond, who having escaped death at the hands of Oliver Cromwell, had returned to Ireland at the Restoration as Lord Lieutenant, a Militia was then organised. "The Duke," says his biographer, "was received on the borders of each county, in 1661, by all the nobility and gentry in a body; and was much pleased in viewing the new formed Militia, which he had found means to provide with arms, and which, being in a great part composed of men that had served formerly in war, made a very good appearance." ⁽²⁾ Again, in 1669, "the war coming on, and an invasion threatened, the Protestants (and they only) had about twenty thousand arms delivered to them out of the King's stores, and they were listed into a regular Militia, as they had ever since continued." ⁽³⁾

⁽¹⁾ "This regiment, arriving at Musselbrough on the 21st September, 1797, was stationed there and at Dalkeith till 9th October, when it removed to Edinburgh, where it was inspected by Lord Adam Gordon, Commander-in-Chief, and the Comte D'Artois (then residing at Holyrood Palace), 1,000 strong; a finer body of men could scarcely be imagined."—*Kay's Portraits*, ii. 468.

⁽²⁾ Carte's *Life of Ormond*, iv. 256. ⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, 387.

In 1678, on the Duke's being re-appointed to the Lord-Lieutenancy, among other corps assembled to do him honour, and "to make a guard for him from the Castle Gate towards Chichester House," were the regiments of the City Militia and two troops of horse Militia. This force had been neglected during his absence from Ireland, but he despatched Commissioners of Array to the several counties to report on its condition. Letters were addressed to the Commissioners on the 16th November, to quicken the Militia Officers; and to appoint places of rendezvous, &c.; ordering that all persons, of what state, degree, dignity or condition soever, should be equally charged with furnishing men and arms, and supporting them on muster-days; and that all persons arrayed should take the oath of supremacy.

In 1685 the Duke of Ormond resigned the Lord-Lieutenancy, and was succeeded by Henry, second Earl of Clarendon. But the real power was exercised by the Earl of Tyrconnel, Lieut.-General in command of the troops; who remodelled the army, discharging all the Protestants whom he deemed not well affected to James II., and disarmed the Militia.⁽¹⁾ It was not likely that any revival of that force could be effected during the troublous times that succeeded; and it was not until the year 1715, on occasion of the rebellion in Scotland, that an Act was passed by the Irish Parliament (2 Geo. I., c. 9.), authorising Governors of counties to array, as they should think fit, all Protestants between the ages of sixteen and

(1) Wynne's *History of Ireland*, iii. 108.

sixty. After some alterations, the Militia Laws were consolidated by the Irish Parliament in 1793 (33 Geo. III., c. 22.) and in 1795 (35 Geo. III., c. 8.), and a force of 21,660 men (Roman Catholics and Protestants alike) was raised.

In 1809 the Militia Laws of Ireland were assimilated to those of England, by the 49th Geo. III., c. 120, of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and under that Act—as amended by 17 and 18 Vic., c. 107, and by 23 and 24 Vic., c. 94—the present number of the Irish Militia is 30,000 in peace, with power to raise an additional 15,000 in time of war.

The *Annual Register* for 1795 gives an interesting description of the military execution of two militiamen. As these awful scenes are, happily, now never witnessed in this kingdom, the account is worth transcribing. The “spacious valley” is Goldston Bottom, about a mile to the north-west of Hove, on the old Shoreham road, now being rapidly approached by buildings, but until a few years back, the shepherd on the property was in the habit of cutting out on the turf the outlines of two coffins, supposed to be the precise spot where the unhappy men fell. The ground has since been ploughed up, so that no traces remain, but the tradition of the incident is well preserved in the neighbourhood.

Military Execution.

“*Brighton, June 14th.*—The Oxfordshire regiment⁽¹⁾ marched on Friday night last, at eleven

(1) Colonel, Lord Charles Spencer; Lieut.-Colonel, William Gore Langton.—*Militia List*, 1795.

o'clock, from Seaford, in order to attend the execution of the two men who were condemned by a General Court Martial for riotous and disorderly conduct. The hour of four was the time appointed to assemble. On the march the regiment halted, and twelve men, who had taken a part in the riot, were called out, when the commanding officer ordered them to fix their flints, and prepare to execute the sentence. This was done to demonstrate to the men that state of obedience in which the officers were determined to hold them.

"The regiment was then conducted to a spacious valley, and divided into two wings, which were stationed on each side of the place of execution; they were then followed by the whole line of encampment. On the rising ground above the valley nearly three thousand cavalry⁽¹⁾ were posted; they were followed by all the Horse Artillery. The guns were pointed and matches lighted. From the disposition of the ground, and from the arrangement of the troops, a more magnificent and awful spectacle was never exhibited in this country.

"After corporal punishment had been inflicted upon the offenders of less note, Cooke and Parish, the two unfortunate men condemned to die, were brought forward with a very strong escort. They walked along the vale in slow and solemn procession, accompanied by the chaplain,⁽²⁾ approached the fatal spot

(1) The 10th Light Dragoons was one of the regiments specially brought down for the occasion.

(2) The Rev. John Dring, Curate of Brighton, who, it is stated, never recovered from the shock to his nerves on this appalling occasion.

with resignation, and expressed much penitence for their crime. They then kneeled down upon their coffins with cool and deliberate firmness, when the one who was to drop the signal, said to his comrade, 'Are you ready?' Upon the reply being made, he dropt a prayer-book, and the party did their duty at about six yards' distance. One of them not appearing to be entirely dead, was instantly shot through the head, and the same ceremony was performed to the other. After this the whole line was ordered to march round the dead bodies."

This regiment was particularly unfortunate during this year, as the next paragraph gives an account of another execution:—

"*Horsham*.—Sykes and Sansom, the two Oxfordshire militiamen sentenced to be hung at the late special Assizes at Lewes, for stealing flour at Blatchingdon, were executed yesterday, at this place, about one o'clock. They appeared very penitent, and desired the spectators to take warning by their untimely fate, and not to mix with, or become active in any mob or public disturbance, &c. The troops of the Yeomanry Cavalry raised in Sussex,⁽¹⁾ attended the execution. The High Sheriff was also present."

In 1796, England being still at war with the French Republic, the Directory despatched a fleet to

Hoche's Expedition.

(1)

"SUSSEX YEOMANRY.

Col., George, Earl of Egremont

Hon. Charles Wyndham

Jo. Trayton Fuller

CAPTAINS

William Campion

William Sewell

W. Stephen Poyntz."—*Militia & Yeomanry List*, 1795.

Ireland, carrying an army of 25,000 men under General Hoche. A division of this fleet anchored in Bantry Bay, but tempestuous weather had prevailed since the expedition left Brest. After lying there some days, the storm continuing with increased violence, and nothing being known of the frigate with the General on board, the Admiral determined to make the best of his way back to Brest. Thus Ireland was saved from attack by the elements.⁽¹⁾

tt's Proposal.

On the 18th October of that year, Mr. Pitt, after the reading of the clause in the King's speech which referred to the intention of the French to attempt a descent upon these kingdoms, proposed to raise 15,000 men to be divided between the land and sea services ; and a supplementary levy of Militia,⁽²⁾ to be grafted on the old establishment to the number of 60,000 men, not to be immediately called out, but to be enrolled, officered, and gradually trained, so as to be fit for service on any emergency. He also proposed to provide a considerable force of irregular cavalry.⁽³⁾ He estimated the amount of that force by the number of horses kept for pleasure throughout the kingdom, which, from the produce of the horse-tax in England, Scotland and Wales, appeared to be about 200,000. He therefore proposed (and this seems like going back to the feudal times) that every person who kept ten horses should be obliged to provide one

(1) *Ann. Reg.*, xxxviii. 198.

(2) 34 Geo. III., c. 16th: "An Act for augmenting the Militia," &c.

(3) 37th Geo. III., c. 6: "To enable H.M. to raise a provisional force of cavalry in England, to be embodied in case of necessity." C. xxiii., s. 86, repeals so much of the oath, "I do swear that I am a Protestant." &c.

horse and one horseman to serve in a corps of Militia ; that those who kept more than ten should provide in proportion, and that those who kept fewer than ten should form themselves into classes, in which it should be decided by ballot, who, at the common expense, should provide the horse and man. The Minister also proposed that all persons taking out game licences for themselves or servants, should find substitutes. The number of those who had taken out licences was seven thousand. The number of cavalry he thus proposed to raise was 20,000.

The resolutions were carried (with the exception of the gamekeepers clause, which was strongly opposed, and subsequently withdrawn), and embodied in an Act (37 Geo. III., c. 3.), one of the provisions being that no gamekeeper was to be admitted as a volunteer.

The King was invested with power to call out this supplementary militia in case of actual invasion or other emergency, with the consent of Parliament if sitting ; but in time of prorogation or adjournment to embody either the whole or a part on his own authority ; at the same time summoning Parliament to meet within fourteen days.

In December, 1797, Mr. Secretary Dundas Army Recruits. informed the House that many of the men raised under the Supplemental Militia Act had enlisted into the regular service ; and since the law, as it then stood, required that they should be restored, he proposed to introduce a Bill to enable any man, if desirous of enlisting, to do so without being reclaimed as a militiaman, and to release the parish

from the obligation of replacing him. General Fitzpatrick expressed a wish to see the Bill extended to the army, inasmuch as a limited time of service was fixed for the engagement of the militiaman who should enlist, whereas the engagement of the ordinary army recruit ended only with his life. The Bill was passed (38 Geo. III., c. 17.) allowing during the continuance of the war a certain proportion of the militia to enlist in His Majesty's regular forces, and to serve for six months after the conclusion of a general peace. Men enrolled in the supplementary militia might be enlisted into such regiments as His Majesty shall appoint, and were not to be liable to serve out of Europe. The supplementary militia was accordingly called out and embodied in 1798, and incorporated with the old, where the numbers were small; the rest were formed into separate battalions. The men were to be balloted for in each county, in the same way as the established militia, and to be commanded by a sufficient number of qualified officers, or if such could not be supplied in the counties, by officers who had retired from the army or militia.

Irish Rebellion.

In June, 1798, the long-smouldering embers of rebellion in Ireland burst into a general flame. Lord Grenville was the bearer of a message to the House of Lords, desiring that it "would enable his Majesty to take all such measures as the exigencies of affairs might require." A similar message was delivered to the Commons on the same day, when some angry words were interchanged between Mr. Pitt and his

constant opponent Mr. Tierney, which led to what was then of no unusual occurrence, but is now utterly incompatible with the habits of the age—a hostile meeting.⁽¹⁾

Ever since the failure of the French expedition to Bantry Bay, in December, 1796, the disaffected, in order to keep up the spirits of their party, circulated reports that the French would soon attempt another descent on the coast of Ireland. The Committee of United Irishmen at Paris had induced the French Government to believe that, if a strong force from France should appear on the coast of Ireland, the whole country would rise in arms to second them, and to shake off the yoke of Great Britain. Some delay arose in the negotiations, for the Irish party wished to keep Ireland as a Republic in their own hands, whereas the French showed a decided inclination to retain it as a conquest.⁽²⁾ At length matters were

French Views
on Ireland.

(1) "We are authorised to state that, in consequence of what passed on Friday last, Mr. Pitt, accompanied by Mr. Ryder, and Mr. Tierney by Sir George Walpole, met at three o'clock yesterday afternoon on Putney Heath.

"After some ineffectual attempts on the part of the seconds to prevent further proceedings, the parties took their ground at the distance of twelve paces. A case of pistols was fired at the same moment without effect; a second case was also fired in the same manner, Mr. Pitt firing his pistol in the air. The seconds then jointly interfered, and insisted that the matter should go no farther, it being their decided opinion that sufficient satisfaction had been given, and that the business was ended with perfect honour to both parties."—*An. Reg.* xl., 227.

The last instance of a challenge being sent to a Minister resulted in the well-known duel between the Duke of Wellington and the Earl of Winchelsea, in Battersea Fields, in 1829. Mr. Roebuck, M.P., and Mr. Black, editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, exchanged two shots in 1835.

(2) *Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, 1798, p. 16.*

arranged, and troops were actually embarked on board a French fleet, when Lord Duncan's victory of October, 1797, put an end to the preparations for the time.

h Rebellion

Early in the year 1798 it became known to the Irish malcontents that a French expedition might shortly be expected. With this encouragement the rebels broke out into open rebellion. On the 22nd of May Lord Castlereagh announced to the House of Commons "that the Lord Lieutenant (Marquess Cornwallis) had received information that the disaffected had formed a plan of possessing themselves, in the course of the week, of the metropolis." Hence the King's message to the Houses of Parliament.

glish Militia

At this critical juncture, there being an insufficiency of regular troops in England to reinforce those in Ireland, the English militia, animated with exemplary loyalty, nobly proffered their services. A Bill was consequently brought in for "enabling His Majesty to accept the offers of such militia regiments as should be willing to serve in Ireland."⁽¹⁾ Under this Act several strong regiments were hastened by forced marches to different ports, and embarked for Ireland, and in the course of the year thirteen militia regiments arrived in that country. The Buckinghamshire regiment, under the Marquess of Buckingham, and the Warwickshire, under the Marquess of Hertford, were the first to land, reaching Dublin early in the month of June.⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ 38 Geo. III., c. 66. The services of 12,000 volunteers were accepted; commanding officers were to explain to the men that they could not be compelled to make such offers.

⁽²⁾ Musgrave, *Rebellions in Ireland*, ii. 110.

The newspapers of that day teem with accounts of the offers of service, and the marches of the regiments, *e.g.*:—

“Previous to Col. Bradwyll dismissing the parade at Maker Camp (near Devonport), on the 29th Aug., the whole of the Royal Cheshire, the Royal Cornwall, Royal Lancashire, Wilts, 1st Somerset, and great part of the Stafford Companies of Grenadiers came up in a body to him, and without the smallest interference or communication with any one of their officers, desired him to express to the Commander-in-Chief their desire to go to Ireland, should their services be deemed necessary.”—*Star*. Sept. 3rd, 1798.

“Sept. 2 (Sunday night).—The North Gloucester Regiment of Militia were drawn up in the barrack-yard, Portsea, when upwards of three-fourths turned out to volunteer to serve in Ireland. At four o'clock yesterday afternoon they set out for Bristol (where they are to embark) in waggons, carts, chaises, &c., and expresses were forwarded to provide relays, so that by this day they will reach that city.”—*Star*. Tuesday, 4th Sept., 1798.

The next account states that on the evening of Sept. 5th they had arrived at Bristol, and embarked the next day for Ireland, the inhabitants having subscribed about £300 as a present for the men.—*Lond. Chron.*, Sept. 13th.

On the 22nd August the expected French expedition had reached the Irish coast, having by a circuitous course escaped the vigilance of the British cruisers.

The intention was to effect a landing in Donegal, but contrary winds prevailing, the fleet, consisting of three frigates, with a force of 1,030 men and officers, anchored under British colours in the Bay of Killala, County Mayo. The commander of the troops was General Humbert, a gallant and hardy soldier, who had been second in command in Hoche's expedition in 1796, and the men were described as short in stature, except the Grenadiers, but well disciplined, and all inured to hard service. At this time there were several corps of Fencibles, horse and foot, English and Scotch, and even a Welsh regiment of cavalry, styled the "Ancient Britons,"⁽¹⁾ dispersed about Ireland in small detachments. This seems to have been an ill-advised measure, for on account of the smallness of their numbers they were frequently defeated in detail. Amongst the English corps mention is made of the "Prince of Wales's Fencibles," the "Durham," 360 strong, and the "Suffolk." Amongst the Scotch, the "Roxburgh" and "Mid-Lothian Fencible Cavalry,"⁽²⁾ the "Argyle," "Sutherland," and "Fraser Fencibles," and the "Gordon Highlanders."⁽³⁾ There was also a force of Hessian

(1) Gordon's *Rebellion in Ireland*, 86.

(2) "The freedom of the City of Edinburgh was unanimously conferred on the Rt. Honble. Lord Ancram, as commanding the Mid-Lothian Fencible Cavalry, for having contributed in an eminent degree to the suppression of the first part of the rebellion in Ireland."—*Lond. Chron.*, Sept. 13th, 1798.

(3) The Marquess of Huntly, afterwards Duke of Gordon, raised the Gordon Highlanders in 1794, and they were made the 100th Regiment. The number afterwards was changed to 92nd, shortly before the expedition to the Helder in 1799. Gordon in his history, where he does not lavish much praise on the troops, says, "To the immortal honour of

troops. The native irregulars, organised by the Government in addition to the Irish militia, which could not always be trusted, ⁽¹⁾ comprised volunteer corps and yeomanry, embodied in independent troops or companies. These two latter, mostly, if not entirely, composed of Protestants, fought well, and were loyal throughout the trying scenes of insurrection. ⁽²⁾

The details of this wretched rebellion are amply supplied in the work just quoted, and in Musgrave's *Irish Rebellion*. The inconsiderable number of French who landed at Killala was intended to be the vanguard of an army which was fortunately intercepted. The little town was at that time garrisoned by a small force of yeomanry and the Prince of Wales's Fencibles, conjointly consisting of only fifty men, all Protestants. With such disparity of numbers the question naturally arose whether they should fight or retreat. Every member of the gallant little band was in favour of the former course. They were soon overpowered, and in two hours the French General was quietly established in head-quarters at the Protestant Bishop's palace. ⁽³⁾ The officer of the Fencibles, being

The First
Defeat.

this regiment, its behaviour was such as, if it were universal among soldiers, would render a military government amiable." (240.)

The Sutherland Fencibles were raised by Captain (afterwards Major-General) Wemyss, of Wemyss Castle. In 1801 he was commissioned to form a regiment of the line, which he did, chiefly composed of those who had previously served in his Fencible Corps, and which exists as the 93rd Highlanders.

⁽¹⁾ There were many splendid exceptions. Two sergeants of the Donegal regiment were presented with commissions in the line for their gallant conduct at New Ross, June 5, 1798.—*Sleigh's Militia List*.

⁽²⁾ Gordon, 73.

⁽³⁾ An interesting account of these proceedings is published in *A Narrative of what passed at Killala*, probably written by the Bishop.

an Englishman, was sent a prisoner on board one of the frigates, to be taken to France, but the yeomanry officer, an Irishman, was allowed to go on parole, the policy being to conciliate the natives. At first not many of the peasantry joined the invaders, but after a success obtained by the surprise of Ballina, when the small garrison was forced to retire,⁽¹⁾ numbers of them flocked to the green flag inscribed with "ERIN GO BRAGH," which the French displayed. Uniforms were distributed to all comers, and 5,500 stand of arms were placed in the hands of the insurgents.

The French then, on August 28, made an advance upon Castlebar. The garrison was drawn out by General Trench in two lines. The first consisted of the Kilkenny Militia, eighty men of the 6th Regiment of Foot, and a subaltern's detachment of the Prince of Wales's Fencibles. The Fraser Fencibles, with a small corps of Galway Yeomen Infantry, formed a second line; and four companies of the Longford Militia were drawn up in a valley in the rear. The cavalry consisted of a part of the Carabineers, the 1st Fencibles (Dragoons), and some yeomanry. The artillery comprised four curriele guns, ⁽²⁾ admirably served by the Royal and Royal Irish

(1) The French advanced by a mountain road, which a single gun could have effectually defended. Lieut. de Passey, who commanded a picquet of the Carabineers, fled at the first fire, taking his men with him to Athlone, a distance of sixty miles. The misconduct of this officer occasioned, in a great measure, the disaster of the day.—*Records 6th Dragoon Guards.*

(2) Small pieces of ordnance, mounted on carriages of two wheels, and drawn by two horses.

Artillery, and the battalion guns of the Kilkenny Militia, for the custom still obtained of having guns attached to infantry regiments. A panic seized the King's forces, and a flight with much confusion was the result, so that the battle was termed in derision "The Races of Castlebar." Of the privates missing, the greater part (Longford and Kilkenny Militia-men) were afterwards found to have deserted to the enemy, which circumstance, with others combined, gave grounds for suspicion that treachery had some share in the defeat. Not one of these deserters escaped the death which his defection merited.⁽¹⁾

It appears remarkable that on the day after, a squadron of English men-of-war appeared off Killala, consisting of the *Doris* frigate, of 36 guns; the *Malampus*, ditto; the *Cerberus*, 32 guns (18-pounders); the *Fox* cutter of 12 guns; and the *Hurler* cutter, 16 carronades (18-pounders),⁽²⁾ and that with such an armament, and with the dashing gallantry of the British navy conspicuous at that date, no attempt should have been made to capture the two French frigates in the Bay, denuded as they were, too, of every soldier. Possibly the inaction can be accounted for; however it came to pass, they contented themselves with sending their boats to set fire to two trading vessels, of which the French had taken possession, and then sheered off.

Strange Inaction.

(1) Gordon, 287.—"Fifty-three deserters from the Longford Militia marched in (to Killala) amidst the shouts of the multitude, with their coats turned, and there exchanged their uniforms for the blue coats of France. Report said that in a few days the rebel camp at Killala was joined by fourscore more deserters from the Longford and Kilkenny Militia." (*A Narrative, &c., ut supra*, p. 38.)

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 39.

The French were disappointed at finding that not a single Protestant would join them; and the rebels were on their part disappointed, for they imagined that the invaders were to commence their career by the slaughter of the Protestants, and the confiscation or destruction of their property. Their astonishment was great on being informed by the French that their object was to give a new Constitution similar to that of France; and they would not suffer any person to be persecuted for religious opinions. "I am *Chef de Brigade*," said Humbert on one occasion, "but not *Chef de Brigands*."

Limerick
Militia.

One of the most brilliant exploits of this short-lived insurrection was performed by Colonel Vereker and a portion of the Limerick Militia. When the French approached Colooney, a village about five miles from Sligo, the small force stationed there, not more than 600 effectives, was ordered to evacuate it. However, the Colonel, with a detachment of the City of Limerick Militia,⁽¹⁾ and a few yeomanry, in the whole not exceeding 286 men, and two curricule guns, marched out, and, posting themselves in a defile, engaged the enemy, giving him so severe a check, notwithstanding his great superiority in numbers, as to deter him from approaching Sligo. The French are stated to have been about 900 men, with 250 of the Longford and Kilkenny Militia, and a numerous body of rebels. The Limerick City lost about 27 men killed and 40 wounded, the French and rebels

(1) Lord Gough commenced his military career as an ensign in this regiment.

about twice that number. The regiment was rewarded by the thanks of Parliament; the Colonel, afterwards second Viscount Gort, received an honourable augmentation to his arms, with the motto "Colooney," and medals were awarded by the Corporation of Limerick to those engaged. The action occurred upon the 5th of September, 1798, and lasted four hours. The colonel, and captain, and lieutenant were wounded, and one lieutenant and one ensign killed.

Lord Cornwallis had, from the first intelligence of the invasion, been so sensible of the danger that might arise in the actual state of feeling in the country, notwithstanding the small numbers of the invaders, that he determined to march in person against them.

By the continuous arrivals of the English Militia regiments, he was enabled to assemble a force sufficient for the occasion. He had arrived at Philipstown on the 26th of August with the 100th Regiment, "the 1st and 2nd battalions of light infantry," and the flank companies of the Bucks and Warwick Militia.⁽¹⁾ By his judicious arrangements Humbert was surrounded on the 8th of September, and after half an hour's fighting surrendered, and the flame of rebellion was effectually stamped out for the time.

In justice it should be stated that the French general behaved as a fair and generous enemy; during his stay at Killala he protected the Protestant Bishop and his family from all insult and pillage, and on his return to France actually addressed a flattering letter

⁽¹⁾ Musgrave. *ib.* 150.

to that Dignitary. ⁽¹⁾ It may be mentioned that the third battalion 1st Guards embarked at Gosport, and the first battalions of the Coldstream and 3rd Guards in June, 1798, for service in Ireland. This was the first appearance of these household troops in that country. The brigade returned to London in the spring of the next year.⁽²⁾

The behaviour of the English Militia and Fencible regiments was all that could be desired. Lord Castlereagh, then acting as Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, writes from Dublin Castle, on the 12th June, 1798, of the regiments which had arrived: "The conduct of the Militia and Yeomanry (Irish) has in point of fidelity exceeded our most sanguine expectations. Some few corps of the latter, and but very few in that vast military establishment, have been corrupted; but in no instance has the Militia failed to show the most determined spirit."⁽³⁾

Owing to the suppression of the rebellion, and the improved tone of public feeling at home, the Government felt justified in diminishing the strength of the home defences, and increasing that of the regular forces. The sense of danger—and this had been Mr. Pitt's policy throughout—had aroused the middle classes, and armed associations had infused a spirit of loyalty throughout the population, although

(1) "J'ai toujours regretté que le hasard et mon devoir de militaire m'aient obligé, en portant le fléau de la guerre dans votre voisinage, à troubler le bonheur domestique dont vous jouissiez, et que vous méritez à tous les égards," etc. (*A Narrative*, &c., page 147.)

(2) *Hist. Gren. Guards*, iii., App., 415.—*Do. Coldstream*, ii., App., 442.

(3) *Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh*: 310

the republican principles of unhappy France were not without their admirers among the many malcontents here. No difficulty was experienced in this matter, for many men had been induced to enter the Army of Reserve, because the term of service was limited; and, having contracted military habits, were easily persuaded to enter the regular army.⁽¹⁾ An Act was accordingly passed on the 12th July, 1799 (Geo. III., c. 106), "For the reduction of the Militia Forces, and for enabling His Majesty more effectually to increase his regular forces for the vigorous prosecution of the war."

Militia regiments were to be made up to a reduced standard, and the supernumeraries discharged or enlisted into the regular service. Militia-men so enlisted might be drafted into certain regiments; but these were not—during the term of five years, or during the continuance of the war, or six months after the expiration thereof—to be sent to serve out of Europe. Every militia-man enlisted into the regular forces was to receive ten guineas as a bounty.

A large body of men accepted the offer of enlistment for a limited period, and they were speedily dispatched for active service at the Helder.⁽²⁾

The permissive volunteering of militia-men into

⁽¹⁾ See Mr. Pitt's speech on the Irish Militia, 20th March, 1804.

⁽²⁾ "We yesterday received an order for the reduction of our regiment, and also an offer of the Duke of York, if any subaltern would bring sixty men with him into one regiment, he would recommend him to His Majesty for an ensigncy in the army." (*Letter*, dated 23rd July, 1799, in *N. & Q.*, 2 S., V. 246.)

the regular service was strongly opposed by militia officers, who maintained that it was contrary to the spirit and intention of this constitutional force to convert it into a recruiting *dépot* for the army; and they naturally disliked to lose their best men, and to command attenuated corps. Protests were entered upon the Journals of the House of Lords by the Dukes of Leeds and Norfolk⁽¹⁾, and the reasons given will be found *in extenso* in the *Annual Register*, signed by three other protesting Peers.⁽²⁾

Consolidation
of Militia Laws

In 1802 Mr. Secretary Yorke introduced a Bill to amend and consolidate the Militia Laws. He stated that in the American War it was found necessary to augment the Militia, then consisting of 32,000 men, by an additional 10,000. During the war in 1794 a similar augmentation was found requisite; afterwards, when the danger of the country increased, the Militia was augmented to 90,000. But it must be apparent that to have recourse to increasing the Militia on an emergency must have interfered with the regular service; while the increase could not be effected at such a moment without considerable expense, and that the defence of the country ought to be settled upon a system during peace, so that as little as possible should be left to emergencies. Considering the numerous assailable points on our coasts, we ought to be able, at the commencement of a war, to put

(1) The Duke of Norfolk, for what was considered political, not military misconduct, had, at the beginning of the year 1798, been removed from the Lord-Lieutenancy of Yorkshire, and the Colonelcy of the 1st West York Militia. (See *An. Reg.*, xl. 9.)

(2) *Ibid.* xli. 209.

100,000 men under arms for the purpose of defence. He thought at such a moment that the Government should be able to lay their hands on 70,000 Militia; the expense of which would be comparatively small, not amounting to more than £230,000. Scotland had, till of late years, produced no Militia. He proposed that 10,000 or 12,000 men should be enrolled there. The expense of the whole would, however, be diminished if 40,000 men were raised in England, and 9,000 in Scotland; and His Majesty was empowered to raise, by proclamation, the remaining 20,000 in England, and 3,000 in Scotland, making a communication of the circumstance to Parliament. By these means the Militia would be much better filled up than it could possibly be by raising a great number on the emergency of the moment. Some alterations would be introduced: first of all, that no man was to be enrolled without being examined by a surgeon (strange that this should not have been thought of before); next, that the enrolled men should be divided into classes; in one class should be placed those who were unmarried and under thirty years of age; in another, those who were married but had no children; in another, those who had one child, and so on; that, as all classes need not be called out together, recourse might be had, in the first instance, to the youngest men, and those with the smallest families. Substitutes were to be taken from those who resided in the same county as those for whom they served. With respect to training, that the whole should be called out for twenty-one days,

instead of two-thirds for twenty-eight days as heretofore.⁽¹⁾

The Bill passed without opposition. The preamble of the Act (42 Geo. III., c. 90) recites that "Whereas a respectable military force, under the command of officers possessing landed property, is essential to the Constitution," &c.

Irish Militia.

On the 26th of March, 1804, the King informed the Parliament that several regiments of the Irish Militia had made a voluntary tender of their services in Great Britain during the war. His Majesty expressed his great satisfaction at this proof of their loyalty, and recommended that Parliament should enable him to accept the offer, to which recommendation it unanimously assented. It appears that the total of available forces (including militia and artillery) was 267,043 men.⁽²⁾

Lord Castlereagh remarked that recruits for the Irish Militia could be procured for four guineas each, whereas a substitute in England cost from thirty to forty pounds.⁽³⁾ Lord de Blaquiere reminded the House of the signal service rendered by the English Militia in Ireland; and that the arrival of the regiments of the Marquess of Buckingham and the Duke of Rutland had saved that country. It was not, however, till 1811 that the restriction which limited

⁽¹⁾ *Parl. Hist.*, xxxvi. 535.

⁽²⁾ *An. Reg.*, xlv. 65.

⁽³⁾ The *Annual Register* for 1810 (lii. 282) has this singular announcement, "Sixty pounds was last week paid at Plymouth for a substitute for the Militia. One man went on condition of receiving 1s. per day during the war; and another for 7s. 3d. per pound" (of his weight).

the service of the Militia to particular parts of the three kingdoms was removed, by the 51 Geo. III., c. 118. The force was henceforth to be called "The Militia of the United Kingdom;" and the oath to be taken was, "I will be faithful, &c., and will faithfully serve in the Militia in any part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, during the term of five years, or (in the case of a substitute) for such further time as the Militia shall remain embodied, unless I shall be sooner discharged."

No corps of British or Irish Militia was to continue to serve in Ireland or Great Britain respectively for more than two successive years, and not more than one-fourth part of the British Militia could be employed in Ireland, nor more than one-third of the Irish be at one time in Great Britain.

In 1808 a Local Militia was instituted (48 Geo. III., c. 3, s. 150), and continued till 1816. Its purpose was to render the male population more effective than it had been under the volunteer system. It was to raise the number of armed men to six times the original quota, but all were not to be called out, a sufficient number only to cover any probable exigency that might arise. It consisted of at first 6,000 men, to be exercised in proportion as the volunteer force should diminish; and ultimately to absorb it totally. The expense was estimated at not greater than that of the actual volunteer establishment; it would not exceed £4 per man for the year. It comprised many classes ineligible for the

Local Militia.

regular Militia. It was called out for fourteen days' training, exclusive of the day of marching, with seven extra days for those who had not been trained in any preceding year.⁽¹⁾ The regiments could be marched out of their respective counties only in the event of actual invasion or insurrection. In 1811, the effective strength of the regular Militia was 77,424 privates, and that of the local, 213,609.

Lord Castlereagh, who introduced the Bill, observed that thus having a regimental force of 400,000 Militia and Volunteers in addition to a regular army of 200,000, which might, if occasion required, be augmented to 250,000, Parliament might rest content, and trust that the Empire was secure.⁽²⁾

Several acts have subsequently been passed; but rather with a view to consolidating the Militia of the United Kingdom and effecting minor changes necessary for the growth of the institution, than to re-modelling in any essential degree the constitution of the force.

Annual Ballot

The 42nd Geo. III., c. 90, provided for the whole machinery of a Militia on an active footing, and under that Statute it was to be annually balloted for and called out for training. At the close of the French War, when the kingdom was relieved from the danger which had been imminent for so many years, these annual proceedings were productive of great cost and inconvenience, without any apparent equivalent advantage. Hence the Legislature has annually, or in some cases biennially, passed an Act to suspend

(1) *An. Reg.*, liii. 31.

(2) *Ibid.*, l. 114.

those clauses of the general Militia Act that referred to making lists and ballots.⁽¹⁾ The machinery, however, remained, and the commissions of the officers were still in force; and thus there were for many years of the peace, skeleton regiments of Militia officers, without any rank and file. Fresh commissions were given from time to time as a kind of honorary distinction, without their being intended to have any other present operation.⁽²⁾ So matters remained till 1852, when a Bill was introduced "to consolidate and amend the laws relating to the Militia," which was ultimately passed as the 15th and 16th Vic., c. 50, s. 27, and the force was called out for twenty-eight days' training in the following year.

The principal features of this Act were, that the Secretary of State for War might make regulations as to the qualifications of officers. All property qualifications, save as respects appointments to the rank of captain, or above it, were repealed. Quotas of counties were to be fixed by the Privy Council. The men—and this was the important alteration—were to be raised by voluntary enlistment. When men cannot so be raised, Her Majesty in Council might order a ballot. The liability to service expired at thirty-five years of age. The Crown, with the advice of the Privy Council, might call out the whole, or part of the Militia for training more than once in a year. The training might be extended to fifty-six days, and might be appointed to take place out of their

Amendments
of the Act.

(1) Preface to Saunders' *Militia Acts*.

(2) Thompson's *Military Forces and Institutions*, 237.

own counties. In the event of imminent danger, Her Majesty might raise the number of men to 120,000, but in that case Parliament must be called to meet within fourteen days after.

Volunteering was not, however, a new element. Substitutes were volunteers; and in Ireland special provision had been made, that when a force had been raised to one hundred rank and file per company, vacancies should be filled by volunteers, and not by balloted men.⁽¹⁾

In 1854 it was considered expedient, having regard to the approach of actual war, to increase the power of the Crown, by enabling the Government—without waiting for invasion, or the threat of it—to call out the Militia “whenever a state of war exists between Her Majesty and any foreign power.”⁽²⁾

The immediate effect of this Act was little anticipated by its authors. The Militia being thereupon embodied, it was argued in Parliament that, inasmuch as the men came under a new phase of the law, they had a right to their discharge, and to a fresh enlistment and bounty. This was an inopportune discovery at a time when the country stood most in need of their services. The consequence was that 8,336 men—chiefly married ones—accepted their discharge, and a second bounty was given to every man who remained. Volunteers came in slowly to replace those who had claimed their discharge, for in an embodied state that class of men—chiefly agricultural labourers—apprehended the permanent loss of

unforeseen
effect.

(1) 49th Geo. III., c. 120, s. 139. (2) 17th and 18th Vic., c. 13.

their employment; but as a proof that the spirit of the country had not degenerated, 32,000 men enlisted from the Militia into the army during the two years of the Crimean War.⁽¹⁾ By a Parliamentary return, the numbers of the Militia in the three kingdoms on the 14th of March, 1854, were: England, 44,198; Scotland, 4,461; and Ireland, 13,095, making a total of 61,754.

Some opposition was made to this draining of the Militia to supply the army. History is said to repeat itself. In 1802, the Earl of Radnor in the House of Peers "disapproved very much of drafting men from the Militia to the regulars, which was, in fact, making mere recruiting sergeants of the many noblemen and gentlemen who were officers in the Militia."⁽²⁾ In 1854, Earl Grey "should put it to the Government whether they thought that the Militia officers ought to be converted into mere drill sergeants for the army."⁽³⁾

On the 25th of August, 1857, power was given to the Queen by the 20th and 21st Vic., "to draw out and embody the Militia, or some part of it, in consequence of the sudden demand for the services in India of a large body of the regular forces." On various occasions, the circumstances under which the Crown should be permitted to call out the Militia have been brought under the notice of Parliament. This last one was certainly not a case of invasion, and scarcely could be termed *domestic* insurrection. In 1871 Lord Russell

Lord Russell's
Amendment.

(1) See Col. Wilson Patten's remarks in *Times*, 25th June, 1875.

(2) *An. Reg.*, xliv. 167.

(3) *Hansard*, 3rd S., cxxxvii. 556.

proposed an important amendment, which was embodied in the 33rd and 34th Vic., viz., that in case of imminent national danger or of great emergency, the occasion being first communicated to Parliament (if sitting), or, if not, by proclamation by order of Her Majesty in Council, it should be lawful for Her Majesty to embody the whole or part of the Militia of the United Kingdom, or to cause additional Militia to be raised. Parliament was to be summoned to meet within ten days.

The system of the ballot is very complicated. A digest of the statutes referring to it will be found in Thompson's "Military Forces of Great Britain," p. 269. No ballot, nor any proceedings in relation to it, can take place except by order of the Sovereign. The men now raised as volunteers are in substitution for those who would have been raised by ballot; but so long as the ballot clauses remain on the Statute Book, they must be looked upon as available to the Executive whenever the Ministers of the Crown may deem their use essential to the public safety.⁽¹⁾ The ballot was put in force by order in Council in December, 1830, and continued till February, 1832.

The Militia is essentially a defensive force; and, in war time, as setting free the regular troops from all home duties, is a most valuable institution. Whether enlistment should be allowed from it into the army, under any or what terms, has always proved a fruitful source of controversy. But one cannot but rejoice that martial ardour should induce partly or wholly

disciplined men to enlist, so as to be available at once for active service—men of the same stamp as those of which our admirable army is composed. A notable instance of this occurred at Talavera in 1809. “The battle,” says Napier, “was one of hard, honest fighting, and the exceeding gallantry of the troops honoured the nations to which they belonged. . . . Yet the greatest part” (of the British) “were raw men, so lately drafted from the Militia regiments that many of them still bore the number of their former regiments on their accoutrements.”⁽¹⁾

At the time of the Crimean War, Militia officers opened their ranks to recruiting officers, and gave every facility to enlistment, even to the loss of their best men; and voluntary offers of Militia regiments to serve on foreign stations were thankfully accepted by the Government.

With respect to the ballot these considerations present themselves. If the Militia be so raised, substitutes would be required in great numbers, and would be procured at higher prices than the bounty offered for enlistment in the army. Consequently the area of recruitment for the regular service is diminished; moreover, a high bounty is a premium to desertion. If by voluntary enrolment, then the two services are competing against each other, and it becomes a pecuniary question as to which of the two offers the greater attractions. A man may enlist in the Militia, receive a bounty, get transferred to the army and receive another, so that he is placed in a

⁽¹⁾ *History of the Peninsular War*, ii. 405.

better position than the ordinary army recruit. Again, many a man will engage in the Militia who would not enter into the regular service. Bad characters find their way into the army, because they cannot secure employment elsewhere.

At the present time, when the re-organisation of the military forces of the kingdom has engrossed so large a share of public attention, it is interesting and instructive to recur to measures adopted at the commencement of the century, when a revision of the national defences was forced upon the Legislature. In this latter case, there was apprehension of a possible immediate invasion; in the former, military reform has proceeded at a time of profound peace, and with a view of preventing panic, and hastily devised means of protection.

The Peace of Amiens had been signed on the 27th of March, 1802; but it was apparent from the very day of signature that it was by no means the intention of the First Consul to confine himself to any prescribed limits towards the establishment of his domination over the weakened nations of Europe. During the interval of peace, the French Government was at open war with our commerce, avowed the intention of re-taking Egypt, and in other ways roused the indignation of the people of Great Britain.

There never appears to have been a period in which Parliament was more unanimous in its vote for increasing the military resources of the Kingdom. The Secretary at War (Mr. Yorke) stated that the
forces of France amounted to 428.000 men,

with nearly half a million of *Gensdarmes*.⁽¹⁾ It was therefore of vital necessity that this country should hold itself in a high state of preparation. He proposed to keep on foot an army of 127,000 men. The general distribution should be 60,000 men for Great Britain and Ireland, 30,000 for the Plantations (Colonies), and the rest for India. The entire amount of the military expenditure for the ensuing year he estimated at £5,500,000, which would yield, including Militia and Yeomanry, a force of 200,000 men. This was in addition to a vote of 50,000 seamen, including 12,000 marines.

On the 18th of May, 1803, war was declared against France, after a peace of a little more than a year, and England became involved in a contest with the greatest Continental power when all the other nations of Europe were either weakened or subjugated—a contest to be ended only by Waterloo. This country had then to prepare for not only a defensive, but also an offensive war. Mr. Pitt expressed his opinion that a war that should be completely defensive would be both dishonourable and ruinous.⁽²⁾

On the 17th of June, hostilities commenced with the Batavian Republic. On the 20th, the Secretary at War carried the proposal of Government for raising an additional force, which he termed “an army of reserve.” This appears to have been the first time that this expression was employed. It was to consist of 50,000 men; 34,000 of which were for England, 10,000 for Ireland, and 6,000 for Scotland.

⁽¹⁾ *An. Reg.*, xlv. 39.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, xlv. 183.

The men, though raised by ballot, between eighteen and forty-five years of age, differed from the Militia in this, that their services during the war were to extend to Great Britain, Ireland, and the Channel Islands. Moreover, they were to be commanded by officers of experience from the line, the half-pay list, or the East Indian or Fencible regiments. ⁽¹⁾

en masse
rejected.

On the 18th of July a bill was brought in to enable the King to raise a levy *en masse*, in case of invasion. It was contended that this was an ancient and indispensable prerogative of the Crown, and the object of the bill was only to facilitate the exercise of it in case of need. ⁽²⁾ Since the 8th of March, the Militia, as well as the supplementary Militia, had been embodied; then followed the Army of Reserve. The assemblage of a mighty flotilla on the coast of France, with the avowed purpose of invading our shores, ⁽³⁾ had raised the spirit of the nation, and

⁽¹⁾ *An. Reg.*, xlv. 135.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, 195.

⁽³⁾ The question has often arisen, whether Napoleon really meditated an invasion of England. The more recent and better informed historians have arrived at a confident conclusion that he did; and that if Villeneuve had arrived with the fleet, the attempt would have been made. The absurdity of forming plans of naval co-operation on a most comprehensive scale, without allowing for the contingencies of wind and tide, does not appear to have occurred to the Emperor; and it was of the very essence of his plan that two thousand vessels, including transports and flat-bottomed boats, distributed along more than two hundred miles of coast, should arrive simultaneously on that part of the English coast which was deemed most favourable for the disembarkation. There are strong grounds for believing that the project of invasion was subsequently abandoned, and that the retention of the flotilla was merely used as a blind, to organise an army for a crushing blow in another and unsuspected quarter. For suddenly the grand army ranged along the coast facing England wheeled about, and was hurried towards the Rhine, to commence the campaign which

in a short time an army of 300,000 effective volunteers started into existence as an additional defence of their native land, thereby preventing the necessity of a levy *en masse*. And probably no territorial acquisition which England could have made would have raised her so high in the estimation of other countries as the zeal exhibited by all ranks to defend the soil from invasion. Other powers caught up somewhat of the spirit which animated this country, and the cause of Great Britain was felt to be that of the nations of the world.

In 1806, no subject so frequently engaged the attention of the Legislature as the means to be adopted for increasing and recruiting the army. Project after project was proposed, and tried, and failed. The encouragement held out to the profession of arms was still insufficient to detach men from the occupations of civil life. The smallness of the pensions to disabled soldiers, or to those who had completed their term of service, was doubtless a great hindrance to the work.

The "Army of Reserve Bill," the first measure adopted for increasing the military force at the commencement of the war, was avowedly a temporary expedient. It had added, in less than ten months, more than 40,000 men to the defensive force; but the effect of the operation of the ballot is decided by the single fact that out of the 40,000, only 2,000 of

in two months was decided by the crowning victory of Austerlitz.

—See remarks on *Memoirs of Count de Ségur* in *Quarterly Review*, No. 277.

those drawn served in person ; and consequently that 38,000 were substitutes, procured by private individuals by means of high bounty. The same number of recruits might therefore have been obtained by Government, and the ballot—the use of which is to be justified only by urgent necessity—might have been dispensed with, without the loss of a single man to the army. In 1804, Mr. Pitt had brought in the Additional Force Bill, with the view of destroying the enormous bounties which had grown up, and which were among the greatest obstacles to the increase of the regular army. There was a deficiency of 9,000 men in the number appointed to be raised under the Army of Reserve Bill. His first object would be to complete that number, his next to reduce the Militia to its ancient establishment of 40,000 for England and 8,000 for Scotland. The remainder, and what was deficient of the number voted, he proposed to transfer to the “Additional Force,” which he estimated would yield 12,000 recruits annually. The disadvantages of the Army of Reserve Act were, that its penalties raised the bounties to so high an amount for substitutes that the recruiting of the Army was materially affected. He therefore wished to make the ballot less burdensome to individuals. The recruiting for this force was to be entrusted to the parish officers, who were to be prohibited from giving more than three-fourths of the bounty allowed for army recruits. If the parishes were unable to find the number assigned as their quota, they were to be fined £20 for every man deficient : which amount was

to pass into a general recruiting fund. The men were to be enlisted for five years, not to be liable for foreign service, but to serve at home as auxiliaries in the way of second battalions to the regular regiments. He anticipated that the intercourse thus arising would induce a considerable proportion to volunteer for the army. ⁽¹⁾

However individuals might have been relieved by this remedial Act, the local rates must have been sensibly exercised. For instance, it was stated in the House, that in Berkshire eleven men only had been raised by the overseers, and in consequence, £6,620 had been imposed on the county for penalties. ⁽²⁾

Excessive
Penalties.

This Act, which remained in force for about a year and a half, was repealed in 1806 by the proposal of Mr. Windham, who had become Secretary at War, and his scheme of army reform might have been written for the Debates in 1873. He stated that the necessity for bounties to procure soldiers showed that the service of the Army did not stand upon its true footing; for there was no other profession to which it was necessary to allure men by such means. It was requisite, therefore, if we were to have an army by voluntary enlistment, to improve the vocation of a soldier, and to bring it into fair competition with other trades and callings. Till this was done, he said, they would be striving in vain to induce men to

Army Reform.

⁽¹⁾ *An. Reg.*, xlv. 88.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, xlviii. 42.—A petition from Marylebone, Middlesex, followed this one: by the provisions of this Act, this parish was required to raise 225 men. It had been found impossible to raise one, and the parish had been assessed in the sum of £4,500.

embrace a profession in opposition to those motives which usually decide them in a choice of one. The most simple and obvious expedient of improving the condition of the soldier was to raise his pay, and no doubt that principle might be carried so far as to secure an abundant supply. But besides the objections on the score of expense, the pay of an army cannot be increased to a great extent without rendering the troops licentious, when a severity of discipline must be resorted to which deters men from enlisting. A better provision might be made for those who are disabled from further service, and for those who had completed their service. But the great change which he proposed to introduce was in the limitation of the period of engagement: that men should be enlisted for a term of years, instead of for life, a term divisible into three periods, of seven years each for the infantry, and for the cavalry and artillery, the first period one of ten years, the second of six years, and the third of five years. At the end of every period, the soldier was to have the right to claim his discharge. If he left at the end of the first period, he should be privileged to exercise his trade or calling in any town of Great Britain and Ireland; if at the end of the second period, to a pension for life; and at the end of the third, after a service of twenty-one years, he should be discharged with the full allowance of Chelsea Hospital. If wounded or disabled in the service, he should receive the same pension as if he had served his full time. During the second period, he should also receive sixpence a week of additional pay; and

during the third, a shilling a week extra. Desertion might be punished by the loss of so many years service. By these means a better description of men would be induced to enter the army; and it might be deserving of consideration, whether the elective franchise ought not to be extended to soldiers, who had completed their full term of service.⁽¹⁾

Mr. Windham would have been opposed to the present "mobilisation" system. He expressed his opinion that no species of irregular force could be employed with any chance of success against regular troops, except in very peculiar circumstances; that to mix irregular with regular battalions, volunteers with troops of the line, would expose to certain destruction the army where such an expedient was resorted to. With respect to the volunteers, while he did full justice to their zeal and patriotism, he lamented that so much time and money had been expended in attempting to give to that force a degree of perfection, of which from its nature it was totally incapable. His own opinion was that there ought to be no corps of volunteers, except those formed of persons who would serve at their own expense, with no other allowance from Government but arms, and no other exemption but from service in other sorts of irregular forces. In three years and a half the volun-

Volunteers.

(1) On the 2nd of April, 1852, Mr. Spencer Walpole gave notice to move in the Committee on the Militia Bill, that any person who served two years in the Militia should be registered as a voter for the county in which he resided. The notice was subsequently withdrawn. (*Hansard*, 3rd S., vol. 120, p. 646.)

teers had cost the country five millions, and as much more had been expended on them by private individuals. With respect to the Militia, he proposed no present alterations, but intended to continue the suspension of the ballot; his object being clearly to promote by all means the recruitment of the army. He also wished to see the other classes of his countrymen, who were not enrolled in any corps, loosely trained under officers of the Militia or of the army, so as to be qualified to act as an armed peasantry to harass and impede the advance of an enemy, if he accomplished a landing; or to be prepared at least to take their place in the army, and repair whatever losses it might sustain in action. This training he meant to be compulsory, but only to last for twenty-four days in the year. The persons so trained were not to have any distinctive dress, nor to be removed to a distance from their homes, except in the event of invasion, and were to receive during the training the same allowance as the volunteers.⁽¹⁾

These proposals were strongly opposed in both Houses, especially that referring to limited service. Mr. Canning made one of his brilliant speeches in opposition, and expressed his fears that, if the principle of compulsory service in the Militia were abandoned, that force would cease to be the constitutional check on the standing army which it was intended to be. That if limited service were a boon to the army, the proposal should have come from the Crown, and not the Commons. He enlarged on the danger of

(1) *An. Reg.*, xlviii. 50.

soldiers being entitled to their discharge in time of war, on the inconvenience that must result from limited service in our colonial possessions, and on the discontents that were to be apprehended in the existing army when the new levies were placed in a position so infinitely preferable.

The Government, however, carried its measures. An augmentation of pay to the officers of the army being in contemplation, it was judged proper to extend the same to subalterns in the Militia, but not to field-officers, inasmuch as they were necessarily men of property. But by Act of Parliament officers of the Militia, when embodied, were entitled to the same pay as the officers of the line. A bill to set aside this provision was therefore introduced. It was violently opposed, as a death-blow to the Militia. The Government maintained that there was no reason why the Militia and the army should be on the same footing in respect of pay. There were already sufficiently marked distinctions between the two services: the officers of the army had half-pay, which the others had not; the latter were required to have qualifications, which the former had not; and the proposed increase of pay to the army did not injure the Militia, as they were left with the same pay as heretofore. Moreover, that there was nothing invidious in the proposal, as neither the field-officers of the Militia, nor those of the cavalry and guards, were to receive increased pay. The additional pay was subsequently voted in a Committee of Supply, as well as an increase to that of the non-commissioned officers and privates ;

Army and
Militia Pay.

an addition to the Chelsea pensions, and also to officers' widows.

Mr. Windham's last resolution was one to declare that no officer of any corps of yeomanry or volunteers should, by reason of his commission, take rank above any field-officer of the regular or militia forces, to which rank by the Acts then in force he was entitled.

CHAPTER V.

SCOTS LIFE GUARDS AND FOOT GUARDS—A REGIMENT OF FOOT GUARDS FOR IRELAND—THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF IRELAND—MARRIAGE OF THE KING—SALE OF DUNKIRK—WAR WITH HOLLAND—THE HOLLAND REGIMENT—SOLEBAY NAVAL VICTORY—FRANCE DECLARES WAR—RETURN OF DOUGLAS'S SCOTCH REGIMENT—NAVAL OPERATIONS—PLAGUE—FIRE—PEACE WITH FRANCE—THE DUTCH INVASION—TREATY OF PEACE, 1667—DISCONTENTS IN SCOTLAND—REVIEW IN HYDE PARK—COSMO'S DESCRIPTION OF IT—DEATH AND FUNERAL OF ALBEMARLE—QUARTERS OF THE FORCES.

In 1661 a troop of Guards was raised in Scotland. By the proceedings of the Parliament at Edinburgh it appears that, on the 18th of January, 1661, "It was agreed that a troop of Horse be raised for guarding the Lord Commissioner and Parliament, to assist the Parliament in putting their Acts in execution against disobedient persons, which the Commissioner was desired to acquaint His Majesty with." A troop was accordingly raised at Edinburgh, with the title of "HIS MAJESTY'S TROOP OF GUARDS," and the Earl of Newburgh⁽¹⁾ was appointed captain and colonel. Wodrow, who regarded with disfavour any accession of power to the dominant party, thus notices the circumstance: "Upon the 2nd of April the King's

Scots Life
Guards.

(1) An old Cavalier. Sir James Livingston, Bart., created Viscount Newburgh by Charles I. in 1647, advanced to the dignity of Earl at the Restoration.

Life Guard was formed. By their constitution they were to consist of noblemen's and gentlemen's sons, and to be one hundred and twenty in number, under the command of the Lord Newburgh. After their taking an oath to be loyal to his Majesty, they made a parade through the town of Edinburgh with carabines at their saddles, and their swords drawn. Whatever was their first settlement, the scum of the nation was taken into them; and we shall afterwards meet with them as ready instruments in the persecution which followed."⁽¹⁾

This Scotch troop, then under the command of the Marquess of Montrose, took part in the action of Bothwell Bridge in 1679, when Monmouth commanded the army against the Covenanters. When the Duke of York resided in Scotland as Lord Commissioner in 1681, the Scots Life Guards attended him, and the same honours were paid as though the King were present. They were also active in Argyle's insurrection, and upon all occasions when their services were put in requisition. On the landing of the Prince of Orange, the Scotch forces, under the command of General Douglas, brother to the Duke of Queensberry, were ordered to the South. They crossed the Tweed on the 1st of October, 1688. Lord Livingstone was then in command of the Scots Life Guards. They reached London on the 25th of October,⁽²⁾ and were quartered in Westminster. Upon the withdrawal of the King, they were ordered by the Prince to

(1) *History of the Church of Scotland*, i. 243.

(2) *Memoirs of Count Oxeington*, n. 216. in Swift's Works, vol. xiii.

retire to Bicester,⁽¹⁾ and shortly after they returned to Scotland. In 1702 a troop of Horse Grenadiers was raised in Edinburgh, and attached to the troop of Life Guards.

At the Legislative Union of England and Scotland, it was thought unnecessary to retain the Scots Life and Grenadier Guards in Scotland, the objects for which they were raised no longer existing. Therefore, as soon as the alarm of an invasion by Prince Charles had subsided for the time, they marched from Scotland, and were quartered at Kingston-upon-Thames, in February, 1709,⁽²⁾ their establishment being in every way assimilated to that of the English Household Troops. Whether they served abroad is uncertain; if they did, their achievements are mixed up with those of the other troops of Life Guards. As their last colonel, the Earl of Crawford, commanded the brigade of Life Guards at Dettingen and Fontenoy, they were probably among the victors. As a matter of economy, after the suppression of the Scotch rebellion in 1745, a reduction was made in the corps of Life Guards, and the Scots Troop was disbanded.

Scots Troops
disbanded.

A regiment of Foot Guards, consisting of five companies, was raised in Scotland in August, 1662, of which the Earl of Linlithgow was appointed lieutenant-colonel, and Sir James Turner sergeant-major.⁽³⁾ In 1666, on the breaking out of the war

Scots Foot
Guards.

⁽¹⁾ *London Gazette*, No. 2,413, from December 24th to 27th, 1688.

⁽²⁾ *Cannon's Records. Life Guards.*

⁽³⁾ *Turner's Memoirs*, p. 135.

with France, Denmark, and Holland, the regiment was augmented to ten companies of one hundred men each. Linlithgow was promoted to be colonel, Turner lieut.-colonel, and Urrey sergeant-major.⁽¹⁾ On the restoration of peace in the ensuing year, "to ease the kingdom of Scotland of the great burthen of maintaining so great a militia," the troops that were raised for the occasion were ordered to be disbanded, and the Scots Guards to be reduced to seven companies. Their three surplus companies were to be returned to France, the captains thereof (Melvill, Ritherford, and Leith) having belonged to Lord George Douglas's regiment (*Douglas Ecossais*), which had been recalled to its allegiance on the breaking out of the war, so that the augmentations to the Guards had evidently been made by drafts from that regiment. The men, however, of these three companies mutinied at the order, "most of the sojors haveing ane aversion from the French service." Turner blamed the captains for their mismanagement, as by giving the men a crown or two each as levy money, they might have carried over their companies, and prevented the mutiny, which at one time looked serious; but it was ultimately quelled by the firmness and tact of Turner, and the mutineers were all disarmed and disbanded.⁽²⁾

In 1668 the Earl of Kellie was appointed lieut.-colonel of the regiment, and Turner was reduced to major, and in consequence of some irregularities in his accounts, he was subsequently ordered to give up his commission.⁽³⁾

⁽¹⁾ Turner. 190.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, 199.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, 219.

The Scots Guards supported the civil authority during the religious ferments which distracted the country. When the Covenanters took up arms in 1679, the regiment consisted of two battalions, under the command of Lord Linlithgow, and fought under Monmouth's command at Bothwell Bridge (June 22nd, 1679), on which occasion "the field-pieces," says an eye-witness, "were carried in the centre of the foot guards."⁽¹⁾ In 1681, Linlithgow resigned his colonelcy, on being made Justice-General of Scotland, and the regiment was given to Major-General James Douglas.⁽²⁾

The regiment was employed in the same duties as those of the Scots Life Guards, and on the suppression of Argyle's insurrection, was ordered, in conjunction with other Scotch forces, to march to England. But on the defeat of Monmouth at Sedgemoor, it was sent back to its former quarters.

In 1686, James II. held a series of grand reviews of his old and newly-raised regiments on Hounslow Heath, and a battalion of Scots Guards was, for the first time, to appear out of its native country, and it embarked for the Thames. The following orders were issued, dated 27th March, 1686 :—

"The battalion of Our Scotch Guards, upon their arrival from Scotland, are to be quartered at Greenwich and Deptford. To march on 4th May to

Scots Guards
in England.

(¹) Creighton, p. 186.

(²) Second son of the Earl of Queensberry, and brother of the first Duke. Died, Lieut.-General, at Namur, from fever, while serving under William III., in Flanders, in 1691. The regiment was then given to Colonel Ramsay.—D'Auvergne's *Campaigns*, p. 102.

Paddington, Kensington, &c., and on the 26th to encamp at Hounslow Heath." It appears in the list of regiments reviewed on the 30th of June, and on the 26th of July, and was 560 strong. Removed thence in August, it was quartered at Rochester, Canterbury, and Deal, and embarked for Scotland 21st of March, 1687. The second battalion arrived in May, 1688, and was quartered in Southwark, then marched to Hounslow Heath, where it was encamped.⁽¹⁾ On the 8th of August it was quartered in Hull. On the 14th it marched to Berwick, and then to Scotland. In consequence of the landing of the Prince of Orange, the Scotch army was ordered to the south. The two battalions were re-united, and marched with the two other Scotch regiments, Buchan's (since 21st Fusiliers) and Wachop's,⁽²⁾ (afterwards disbanded) under the command of their colonel, Major-General Douglas, *viâ* Chester to London. The Scots Guards then proceeded to Salisbury, where a large force was assembled under Feversham; afterwards they marched through Reading, on their way to Maidenhead, where one of their battalions went over to the Prince, according to Creighton, "under the conduct only of a corporal, whose name was Kemp. However, Douglas assured the King that this defection happened against his will, and yet, when the officers were ready to fire upon

(1) "To march to Lambeth, Foxhall, Battersea, Clapham, Wandsworth, Putney, Barnes, Mortlock, East Sheen, Rowhampton, Cue, and Wimbledon, and the next day to Hounslow Heath."—*Marching Orders*, War Office Rec. P.R.O.

(2) "We appoint you, John Wachop, colonel of a Scotch regiment of Foot, to be forthwith raised for Our Service." 11th March, 1687-8.—

the deserters, he would not permit them.”⁽¹⁾ When James fled from London, the battalion was ordered to Thame, Oxfordshire. It appears afterwards to have been brought to London, and in March, 1689, was directed to proceed to Ipswich. The following letter was addressed to Major Maitland by Secretary Blathewayt:—

“ *Whitehall, 19th March, 1688-9.*

“SIR,—His Majesty is extremely well satisfied with the orderly marching and dutiful behaviour of the Reg^t of Scots Guards under your command, and does think it for his service that they continue their march, as was first intended, to Sudbury and Ipswich,” &c.—*Marching Book.*

In 1689 one battalion embarked for Flanders; and in February, 1691, the other was dispatched to the same destination.⁽²⁾ They were actively employed in all the operations of the French war, which are amply detailed by D’Auvergne. In March, 1696, in consequence of plots at home, encouraged by Louis XIV., the Guards, with eight line battalions, were sent from Flanders to England, to protect the person of the King. Among these was included

⁽¹⁾ Creighton, p. 219.

⁽²⁾ “The brigade of Guards, during this campaign, was composed as follows:—

Two battalions First Guards	... 18 comps.	1,486 men
One battalion Coldstream Guards	7 “	560 “
Two battalions Scots Guards	... 14 “	1,120 “
Two battalions Dutch Guards	... 18 “	1,750 “

Total ... 57 comps. and 4,916 men.”

(Hamilton, i. 357.)

a battalion of the Scots Guards, which did duty at Windsor from the 28th of September to the 27th of May, 1697, when the danger being passed away, the force returned to Flanders. At the Peace of Ryswick, both battalions returned, landed at Hull in November, 1697, and marched through Berwick to Edinburgh. They remained on the Scotch establishment till the Union in 1707, from which time they were put on the same footing, or nearly so, as the First and Coldstream Guards. Their pay was assimilated; hitherto, Mackinnon says, they received only the pay of the line.⁽¹⁾ The pay of the officers of the First and the Coldstreams had been increased by William III., in 1691.⁽²⁾ The second lieutenant-colonel of the Scots Guards was reduced, and "one year's recompense allowed to him, ending the 22nd of December, 1708." One of the battalions embarked for Spain in 1709, and took part in the "War of the Succession." On the 27th of November, 1710, General Stanhope, commanding the British forces, was surrounded in the

(1) A Warrant of James II., dated 30th July, 1687 (*Add. MSS.*, No. 4,194), gave the rank of Lieut.-Colonels to the Captains of Companies in the Royal Regiment of Guards, and the Captains of the Coldstream obtained a like privilege at the same time (Mackinnon, i. 190). In July, 1691, William, in consideration of this additional rank of the Captains, granted to "the Lieutenants of the First and Second Regiments of Foot Guards, to take rank and command as Captains of Foot" (Hamilton, i. 353). The Scotch Regiment of Guards is not specified in these warrants, which are limited to the two above mentioned. The Scots Guards probably obtained the same privilege (which the three regiments still enjoy) either at the Union, or when they first divided the London duty with the two other regiments, in 1713. In 1815 the Prince Regent conferred the rank of Lieutenant upon all the Ensigns of the three regiments, and the same upon all future appointments.

(2) *Harl. MSS.*, No. 4,847.

little town of Brehuega, in the province of Guadalajara, by the French and Spaniards, under the Duke de Vendôme, and he and all his men, amounting to two thousand, had to surrender themselves prisoners of war, and were detained until the Peace of Utrecht in 1713. In February, 1712, the battalion at home, under the command of Colonel Scott, was ordered from Edinburgh and Berwick to London. On reaching St. Albans, in May, it was directed to proceed to Dover, Deal, and Sandwich, and embark for Dunkirk, whither ten battalions, under the Duke of Ormond, were ordered to take possession of that fortress, which the French had agreed to give up, as a pledge of their sincerity in the preliminaries of a treaty for a general peace. It returned to England in September, 1712, under the command of Colonel the Marquess of Lothian, and was quartered in Kent. A detachment of 260 men received orders in January, 1712-13, to relieve the companies of Invalids in the Tower. The other battalion arrived at the same time from Spain, and then the whole regiment was ordered "to attend the garrisons of Portsmouth and Plymouth."⁽¹⁾

In 1713 the Scots Guards for the first time performed the same duties about the Sovereign as the other two regiments. Their national designation was dropped, and the brigade orders were from henceforth addressed to the Foot Guards, of which the Scots were the third regiment.

On the accession of George I. a grenadier battalion,

(1) *Marching Orders.*

formed from the brigade of guards, was ordered to receive the King on his landing at Greenwich, and to do duty there as long as his Majesty remained there,⁽¹⁾ during which time, it appears, the drummers, pursuant to the King's order, were to beat the English march and the Scotch reveille.⁽²⁾

The future history of this regiment is identified with the glorious achievements of the United Brigade of Guards.

On the 27th of April, 1831, William IV. conferred on the regiment the title of SCOTS FUSILIER GUARDS. On the 27th of March, 1877, the original designation of SCOTS GUARDS was restored by order of Queen Victoria.

At the commencement of the year 1662 a regiment of Guards was formed here for service in Ireland. On the 24th of March, 1661-2, the following warrant was issued to the Earl of Sandwich, Master of the Great Wardrobe:—

(1) "By the Lords Justices.

"We do hereby direct that you cause the severall comp^s of Grenadiers belonging to his Majesty's 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Regts of Foot Guards to march to Greenwich, and to encamp in the park there, in order to mount the King's Guard upon his arrival at Greenwich, and to do duty on his Royal Person during his Majesty's continuance in that place; and you are also to cause the remainder of the three regts which shall not be on duty on that day (to which end the detachment now at the Tower will be relieved the day before by a detach^t of Lieut.-Gen^l Webb's regt*) "to line the streets from the place where the militia ends to the Palace at St. James's," &c.—3rd September, 1714.

"F. GWYN.

"To the Colonels of the three regiments of Foot Guards."

* The King's Regiment of Foot, the present VIII., The King's.

(2) Extract of a letter, dated 16th Sept., 1714, from Francis Gwyn, Secretary at War quoted in Mackinnon. i. 341.

“Yellow Taffety and Crimson for 12 coulours for a Regiment of Foot, and that, you cause Our badges to be painted and gilded thereon, and that you deliver the same parcells of Taffety at the same rate as they were furnished for Our Regiment of Foot, and likewise 12 Ensign-staves with guilt heades, and 12 pair of Tassells, crimson and gold, and that you also cause Our Badges to be painted and gilded on 25 drummes, after the same manner as Our drummes of Our own Regiment of Foot,” &c., “and that you deliver the same to Our right trusty, &c., James, Duke of Ormond, Lieutenant of Our Kingdom of Ireland.”⁽¹⁾

The King by patent, dated Westminster, 23rd of April, 1662,⁽²⁾ wherein it is stated that “His Majesty having thought fit to raise in England a regiment of twelve hundred foot to be his guards in Ireland,” authorised the Duke of Ormond to raise the men “in this Our Kingdom of England, by beat of drum, proclamations, or otherwise,” and to give commissions to such as he should think fit to be officers. The Duke appointed his fifth son, the Earl of Arran,⁽³⁾ to the command of it. It was highly

⁽¹⁾ S.P.O., *Warrant Book*, vol. i.

⁽²⁾ *Pat. Rot.*, 14 Car. II., p. 14; *dorse* No. 8.

⁽³⁾ The Duke had issue eight sons, of whom the 1st, 3rd, 4th, 6th, and 8th died early. The second was Thomas, called up to the House of Lords as Earl of Ossory, 22nd of June, 1662, whose name often appears in the records of this reign as a distinguished naval and military commander. He died of fever at Whitehall, 30th of July, 1680. The fifth was Richard, b. 1639, created Earl of Arran 13th of May, 1662, d. 25th of Jan., 1686.

important that his Grace—lately made Lord Lieutenant—should be attended by a body of men upon whom he could rely. The regiment being quickly completed to its strength, marched from London in May to embark for Ireland. The following notice of it appeared in the *Mercurius Publicus* :—

“*Chester, May 9th, 1662.*—On the 9th inst. Sir William Flower, who had the conduct of His Majesty’s Regiment of Guards for Ireland, under the command of the Earl of Arran, arrived here with that regiment in order to their transportation for Ireland. Sir William commenced (14th May) to ship twelve companies in eleven ships at Weston.”—“During the march from London with this regiment Sir William himself constantly marched with the men. Sir W. Flower, my Lord Callan, and other chief officers of the regiment, were entertained by the Mayor.”

“*Dublin, 28th May.*—The King’s Regiment of Foot, consisting of twelve companies that came this week from England, marched this day, completely armed and clothed, through the city, and are all quartered in and about it for the guards.”

On July 30th, 1662, it is stated that—

“The Royal Regiment, led by Sir William Flower, and brought up by Sir John Stevens, with four troops of horse commanded by the Lord Kingston, then the guard of Halbertiers, attended the arrival of the Lord Lieutenant.”⁽¹⁾

“His Grace’s guard of battle-axes, with the King’s company of the Royal Regiment, formed the guard of honour on a similar occasion in October, 1665.”⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ Carte’s *Life of Ormond*, iv. 225.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*—In these memoirs at this date mention is made of “Tories, a parcel of vagabond robbers, sheltered in the mountainous and boggy parts of Ulster, who continually infested and plundered the country.” A proclamation was issued against them, and those who harboured them were to be committed to prison until such Tories should be killed or brought to prison. (*Ibid.*, 557.)—Lingard (vii. 68) states that the name is derived from “*comigheam*” to pursue for the sake of plunder

In 1666 there was a general design of the “Fanatics” to rise simultaneously in the three kingdoms, to gather together the disbanded soldiers, and to pull down the King and the House of Lords. In Dublin the castle was to be seized. The Irish soldiers, with their pay many months in arrear, generally gave encouragement to the conspirators; but the firmness of Ormond, aided by the loyalty of the Guards, destroyed the hopes of the disaffected. At Carrickfergus four companies of soldiers mutinied, and seized upon the town and castle. The Duke dispatched the Earl of Arran with four companies of his Guards by sea, with orders to crush this disturbance. “The regiment of Guards was the only one on which any dependence could be placed, and they were seven months in arrears.” Upon his arrival the garrison desired time to consider what should be done, but Arran demanded immediate entrance to the town, which being refused he forced his way in, with the loss of two men killed and six wounded, and the garrison took refuge in the Castle, which was strong and well supplied with provisions. The mutineers, however, were so alarmed at the news of the Lord Lieutenant’s approach with additional troops, that they surrendered at discretion. Nine of the mutineers were executed, and the rest sent prisoners to Dublin to be transported to the plantations. “They were all stout fellows, and there was a difficulty in supplying

Mutiny
arrested.

(O'Connor, *Bib. Stovensis*, ii. 460), and that the earliest mention of them is in 1651, when they refused to submit to Cromwell. See also Rapin, ii. 796.

their places without sending to England, and they not easily obtained there, by reason of the ill reputation of Irish pay. Two companies of the Guards (who, ill paid as they were, had behaved themselves with as much courage as they had supported their necessities with patience) were left there for the security of the place.”⁽¹⁾

The army of Ireland in 1678 “consisted of eighty-eight old companies of Foot, to which fourteen new ones and the Regiment of Guards being added, made up six thousand four hundred men. It was thought proper to make an addition of thirty men to each of the old companies, and of ten to each Company of the Guards, and to fill up the twenty-four troops of horse to sixty men and a trumpeter in each troop; so that the army consisted of nine thousand one hundred and twenty foot, and one thousand four hundred and sixty-four horse.”⁽²⁾

In 1685, during Monmouth’s rebellion, four companies of the Irish Guards were ordered to England. But after the victory of Sedgemoor their services were not required, and they were sent back from Chester to their old quarters.⁽³⁾

⁽¹⁾ Carte, iv. 251.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, 538.

⁽³⁾ “Sir Thomas Newcomen to return with Irish troops; the four companies of the Guards to return to Dublin.” (*Sunderland Papers*, June 22, 1685.) Sir Thomas was probably an officer of the Irish Guards. He held a commission of M.-General in Charles II.’s reign, which was not renewed by James II. He was promoted to the Colonelcy of a regiment of Irish Foot, of which Anthony Hamilton (author of Grammont’s *Mems.*) was Lieut.-Colonel. Presumably Newcomen retired, and Hamilton succeeded him, as Colonel A. Hamilton’s regiment appears in the list of James’s army in England in 1688. Newcomen was extremely disliked by Clarendon, who says: “Lieut.-

Frequent mention is made of this regiment in Clarendon's Correspondence, when he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1685-6. In 1686 the young Earl of Ossory (afterwards second Duke of Ormond) was appointed its Colonel. When Tyrconnel became Lieutenant-General and remodelled the Irish army, he discharged 400 men from the Guards, and supplied their places with Irish Roman Catholics.

In 1688, seven out of the thirteen companies, numbering one hundred men in each, came over to England with other Irish regiments, under the command of Major-General Justine Macarty, to join the British army assembled against the invasion of the Prince of Orange. They are described as "tall, slightly young men, well dressed; they received new arms at the Tower, and were exercised in Hyde Park, much to the satisfaction of His Majesty."⁽¹⁾ They were then sent to garrison Tilbury Fort. When the Prince obtained the ascendancy, all the Irish regiments were disbanded, with one exception. The Guards were disarmed and detained under *surveillance* for a short time in the Isle of Wight, and then transferred to the service of the Emperor of Germany.⁽²⁾

The one exception was the present XVIIIth "Royal Irish" Regiment. It was one of those formed out of the old independent companies in Ireland. The Earl of Granard was its first Colonel. He resigned the

Col. Macarty is much fitter to be M. General than Sir T. Newcomen, who is no soldier, wretchedly sordid, and a brute; and I never heard of any title he had to merit, except his alliance." (*Cor.*, i. 247.)

(1) *Add. MSS.*, No. 3,929, L. 47.

(2) *Records*, XVIII., R.I.—Luttrell's *Diary*, Jan., 1689, p. 493.

command in favour of his son, Lord Forbes, in 1686. Forbes was a young man of spirit, and a Protestant; Tyrconnel, not wishing to make an enemy of him, retained him in his command, possibly on account of the preparations for invasion which the Prince of Orange was known to be making. Hence it was that Forbes was enabled to keep more Protestants in his regiment than were in the whole of the Irish army beside. When James sent for the Irish regiments, Tyrconnel ordered this one over among them, and at the King's departure all these were disbanded except this one, Forbes being the only Colonel among them that neglected Feversham's orders, and obeyed those of the Prince, by disbanding the Roman Catholics, and keeping the Protestants to their colours. He then marched them to Brentford, where he left them in quarters, and proceeded to Windsor, to wait upon the Prince, who received him very graciously.

During his absence a report spread widely that the Irish had assembled in a body, and were burning and destroying all before them; which report so far prevailed that the Trained-bands of London were all under arms, guarding the streets and approaches to the City. Upon this alarm the country people came down in great numbers to take vengeance on the Irish regiment at Brentford, for the outrages their countrymen were assumed to be perpetrating. Sir John Edgworth, the Major, was in command; for the Lieutenant-Colonel, Lord Brittas, being a Papist, had fled. He immediately ordered the men to their arms, and marched them within the walls of Lord

Ossington's court-yard. In vain he expostulated with the populace; they were determined to have their revenge. At last, perceiving two gentlemen among the crowd, he assured them his men were not Irish Papists, but Protestants descended from Englishmen, though born in Ireland; and to convince them that they were all true Church of England men, he desired they would send for the parson of the parish to read prayers to them; which being done, most of the soldiers produced their Common Prayer-books, and responded so distinctly that a revulsion in opinion took place, the people gave them a *Huzza*, and cried "The Prince of Orange for ever!" and left them.

Soon after this it was ordered to Hatfield. On the 31st of December, Forbes received orders to cause all the Roman Catholic officers and soldiers of his regiment to march to Portsmouth, and receive all the Protestant officers and soldiers of the Irish Guards—and Hamilton's and MacElligott's regiments—into his regiment. Forbes was cajoled into the belief that James would be restored; whereupon he threw up his commission. He was succeeded by Sir John Edgworth. He, however, "being in too much haste to grow rich," bought up the cast-off clothes of the troops which had been disbanded at Salisbury in order to clothe his own regiment, then quartered at Chester, instead of supplying new clothing, for which it may be inferred he had charged. Whereupon Sir John was cashiered. The regiment was then given to the Earl of Meath; Mr. Newcomen, perhaps a

Lord Forbes
resigns.

son of Sir Thomas, was made Lieut.-Colonel, and Frederick Hamilton, Major. On the 12th of August, 1689, it embarked, with other regiments, at Highlake, under the command of the Duke of Schomberg, for service in Ireland. ⁽¹⁾

In 1694, the regiment joined the army in Flanders under William III. A question arose at that time as to its rank in the army, for it had hitherto taken rank of all the regiments raised by James II., but that was now disputed. The matter was referred to a Board of General Officers; but most of them being interested parties, having regiments of their own, they would allow this one to rank only from its first coming into England, by which it lost the rank of eleven regiments, taking rank after all those raised by King James, and before all those by King William. In 1695, for its gallant conduct at the siege of Namur, King William bestowed upon it the title of ROYAL OF IRELAND; ⁽²⁾ and it bears, in consequence, the motto of "*Virtutis Namurcensis Præmium.*"

The other battalion of the Irish Guards—faithful to the Sovereign to whom they had sworn allegiance—fought throughout the campaign in the cause of James II., until the capitulation of Limerick in 1691, which terminated the Irish war. It was

⁽¹⁾ *Memoirs of Mil. Transactions*, 1683 to 1718, by Captain Robert Parker, late of the Royal Regiment of Foot in Ireland. Also, *Campaigns of King William and Queen Anne*, by Richard Kane (1745), Governor of Minorca, and a Brigadier-General, late of the same regiment, "from which," he writes, "I may without vanity say, our British Infantry had the ground-work of their present discipline" (p. 1).

⁽²⁾ Kane, p. 25.

then received into the pay of France, with most of the other Jacobite forces.⁽¹⁾

“The King’s Guards,” says O’Connor, “a noble company of 1,400 men, came to the place assigned for separating, the whole being, with the exception of seven men, marched for France, to the inexpressible mortification of Ginkle, who had made the greatest efforts to retain this splendid regiment in the service of his master.”⁽²⁾ As they were no longer guards to the King, they were engaged in the French service, and were known as the Royal Regiment of Ireland, or the Regiment of Dorrington, from the name of its Colonel, who was an Englishman.⁽³⁾

Once again the two royal regiments of Ireland met as antagonists on the field of battle. In 1709, the one in the British service, under the command of Colonel Kane, having just left Tournay, was attacked in a plain skirted by the wood of Sart by a battalion, which ultimately the British drove into the wood, with considerable loss. Among the wounded of the French battalion left behind on the ground was one Lieutenant O’Sullivan, who stated that the battalion to which he belonged was the Royal Regiment of Ireland.⁽⁴⁾

The remark made by Captain Parker on this trial of skill between these two regiments is worth

English and
French Firing.

(1) “The total number that passed over to France is said to be 19,869 men and officers.” (O’Connor’s *Mil. Memoirs of the Irish Nation*, p. 193.)

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) D’Alton’s *King James’s Irish Army List*, ii. 9.

(4) Parker’s *Memoirs*, 164.

quoting. "The advantage on our side," he says, "will be easily accounted for, first, from the weight of our ball; for the French arms carry bullets of twenty-four to the pound; whereas our British firelocks carry ball of sixteen only to the pound, which will make a considerable difference in the execution. Again, the manner of our firing was different to theirs; the French at that time fired all by ranks, which can never do equal execution with our platoon-firing, especially when six platoons are fired together. This is undoubtedly the best method that has yet been discovered for fighting a battalion; especially when two battalions only engage each other."

King's
age.

An important event of this year (1662) was the marriage of the King with the Infanta of Portugal. An alliance with a Roman Catholic Princess was not what the English would have desired (that consideration, however, would not weigh heavily on Charles), but at all events the large amount of ready-money, £500,000, offered as her portion, was an irresistible bribe to him. She also brought to the Crown the possession of Tangiers and the island of Bombay. Charles, on his part, bound himself to contribute to the defence of Portugal against Spain, her inveterate antagonist, and for that purpose to maintain, for eight months after the marriage, an army of 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot, and a fleet of ten ships of war. ⁽¹⁾

On the 14th of May, the future Queen of England

landed at Portsmouth under a salute from the guns of the English fleet, under Sandwich, which had been sent to convey her hither. The King left Whitehall at nine o'clock in the evening of the 19th, in the Earl of Northumberland's coach, escorted by his own troop of Guards. At Kingston, where he arrived soon after ten o'clock, he entered the Earl of Chesterfield's coach, the Duke of York's troop of Guards relieving that of the King. He reached Guildford before midnight.⁽¹⁾ Rapid travelling for those days of heavy coaches and bad roads! Next morning he started again, and arrived at Portsmouth about noon. Charles there met his bride-elect, and on the 21st the marriage was solemnised in the presence chamber of His Majesty's house,⁽²⁾ and Catherine of Braganza became Queen of England, an honour she purchased by the sacrifice of her happiness.

In March of this year, "that loyal gentleman, Sir James Smith, M.P. (Exeter) is by commission of His Majesty made Major of His Majesty's Regiment of Guards under his Grace the Duke of Albemarle, the former Major (Nichols) having for his good services acquired a preferment in the Tower of London. Sir James received his charge in the Artillery Yard; when that gallant regiment, with many volleys and shouts, testified their joy at the reception of so deserving a gentleman."⁽³⁾ In July he was ordered to proceed to Exeter "to settle the Militia

(1) *Heath's Chron.*

(2) *Mems. of Lady Fanshawe*, p. 144.

(3) *Mercurius Publicus*, 6th to 13th March, 1661-2.

of that town," which he was to do in a short time, and then to return to his regimental command.⁽¹⁾

On Saturday, the 27th of September, a grand review of the Royal Guard took place in Hyde Park, of which the courtly *Mercurius Publicus* gives the following flattering account:—

"This day His Majesty's Regiments of Guards, both Horse and Foot, were drawn up in Hyde Parke. It was a very noble sight at all capacities, and (with reverence be it spoken) worthy those royal spectators, who purposely came to behold it: for His sacred Majesty, the Queen, the Queen Mother, the Duke and Dutchess of York, with many of the nobility, were all present. The Horse and Foot were in such exquisite order, that 'tis not easie to imagine anything so exact;" &c.

Unfortunately the Queen's marriage-portion, so far as the ready money was concerned, fell short of the promised amount. The Queen-Mother of Portugal pleaded "the straits and poverty of the kingdom; that only half could be paid at present, and that the other half should infallibly be paid within a year."⁽²⁾ Of this moiety, one-fifth was expended on the service of the fleet, in taking possession of Tangiers and Bombay: and on the armament under Lord Inchiquin for the protection of Portugal. Of the remaining four-fifths, which were brought to England, half was in bills of exchange, and half in plate, jewels, and sugar.⁽³⁾ The jointure promised was doubtless greater than the resources of the little kingdom could sustain, strained as they were by the continued necessity of defensive preparations against Spain.

The insufficient revenue of the Crown soon forced

(1) *Ibid.*, 3rd July, 1662.

(2) *Life of Clarendon*, ii. 163.

(3) Sandwich to Clarendon, printed in "*Lister's Clarendon*," iii. 192.

Charles and his advisers to invent some new means of sustaining the declining royal credit. Nothing suggested itself but the sale of Dunkirk, which was certainly a costly possession.

An interesting document is printed in Lister's Life of Clarendon (iii. 510), headed, "Extracts from a Paper entitled 'The establishment of the garrison of Dunkirk,' copied from the papers of Edward Backwell⁽¹⁾, Alderman and Banker, preserved in the Banking House of Child and Co." By this it appears that there were four regiments of Foot, consisting of 4,400 soldiers besides officers; comprising "His Matys regiment of Guards, the Governor's and two other regiments of Foot, and six troops of cavalry, consisting of 300 troopers; these with the train and staff cost in annual pay £113,342 13s. 4d." That between the Restoration and August, 1662, £229,177 had been issued for the expenses of Dunkirk. According to Albemarle's calculations, the whole cost of the place, "*besides the charge of keeping the garrison,*" since it had come into the possession of England in 1657, was £284,250. Works were also in progress there, which, according to a letter from Rutherford, would "cost infinitie of moneys."⁽²⁾ An estimate of the King's revenue and expenditure made the former amount to £1,201,593, and the latter to £1,437,000,⁽³⁾ so that if Charles had been a model of economy, he

(1) Appointed, conjointly with Sir John Shaw, Receiver, Treasurer, and Paymaster of the garrison of Dunkirk. He was ruined by the closing of the Exchequer in 1672.

(2) Rutherford to Charles II.

(3) *Parl. Hist.*, iv. 266.

was still of necessity plunging himself deeply into debt. It was resolved, therefore, that Dunkirk, with its stores and artillery, should be offered to the King of France, and it was sold—after much haggling on both sides—for five million livres. Louis had the best of the bargain; and moreover he exacted a discount as a “recompense and compensation of the advance thereof, and of the carriage of it to the sea-side.”⁽¹⁾

On the completion of the negotiations for the transfer, the following “Instructions for the Lord Rutherford for the disbanding our forces upon the dissolution of our garrison at Dunkirk,” were issued:

“At your arrival, you are to dissolve and disband all the Forces under your command in Our Garrison of Dunkirk in form and manner that shall best appear to you, observing these following directions:

“The remaining companies of Our Own Regiment shall be sent hither entire, according to orders which you shall receive to that effect.

“The Regiment of Our dearest brother, the Duke of York, shall for the present be accommodated in the King of France his service, so that it must be given into their hands in the manner they shall desire.

“The three troops of Horse, your own Regiment, the Lord Falkland’s, and the train with all the Staff-officers, are to be disbanded upon the place.

“The arrears to be computed according to the established pay, from the day the garrison came to

⁽¹⁾ According to an account furnished by Albemarle, there were in and about Dunkirk, 72 brass and iron cannon, the value of which he estimated at £20,000. See Lister, iii. 212.

be under our pay, viz., September 24th, 1660, as appears by the commission of Sir Maurice Berkeley, our Treasurer and Paymaster for that service.

“All arms to be given up, except those remaining in Our Regiment of Foot, and those in the Regiment of the Duke of York.”

“Order to Lord Rutherford to cause the three remaining companies of His Majesty’s Regiment to be transported from Dunkirk, and landed at Deal or thereabouts.” (November 4th, 1662.)

“Our Will and Pleasure is that you forthwith muster Our Regiment of Guards under the command of Our Right Trusty and beloved Counsellor, Thomas Lord Wentworth, Collonel thereof, commencing the 19th November last, and ending upon the day of General Muster of all the rest of our Established Forces in our Kingdom of England and dominion of Wales.”

“To the Lord Falkland.—Right Trusty, &c., Having thought fit to part with the Town and Garrison of Dunkirk for many important reasons moving Us thereunto, a principal one whereof hath been the easing our revenue of so vast a charge, we have consequently resolved to disband your regiment of foot,” &c. (23rd October.)

A like letter to Lord Rutherford, to be communicated to his Regiment of Foot, likewise to his troop of Horse :—

“In case there be none of Shippes there for the transport of the men and horses which you shall

disband, to have ships on the easiest terms, giving passes to the men, enjoyning them to dispose of their swords and horses remaining with them within fourteen days after their arrival at the place of their intended abode.”⁽¹⁾

Most of the disbanded men were re-engaged for service in the contingent for the defence of Portugal, as stipulated in the King’s marriage articles, or for the new regiments forming for the garrison of Tangier.

The sale of Dunkirk grievously mortified the pride of England, and had no small influence on the subsequent popular estimation of the King and his Chancellor. If Clarendon were not the first to suggest it, he at all events sanctioned and advocated the proceeding,⁽²⁾ whereby he incurred a vast amount of obloquy; and the magnificent edifice which was being erected for his residence in Piccadilly was nicknamed Dunkirk House, in cynical allusion to his conduct.⁽³⁾

⁽¹⁾ S.P.O. Dom., Ch. II., Entry Book, No. 11.

⁽²⁾ Lord Lansdowne states that the Count D’Estrades (who was the sole manager on the part of France in this affair), in his *Letters and Negotiations*, printed at the Hague in 1709, asserts that the first motion for the sale emanated from Clarendon, and publishes the correspondence. (*Works of Granville, Lord Lansdowne*, ii. 142.)

⁽³⁾ Clarendon House stood on the north side of Piccadilly, between Berkeley Street and Bond Street, exactly facing St. James’s Palace. The popular animosity on this subject was evidently not transitory: “Rode into the beginning of my Lord Chancellor’s new house, near St. James’s: which common people have already called Dunkirke-house, from their opinion of his having a good bribe for the selling of the towne” (There appears to be no truth in this insinuation), “and very noble I believe it will be. Near that is my Lord Barkeley beginning another on one side, and Sir J. Denham on the other.” (Pepys, ii. 212. The house was subsequently bought by the Duke of Ormond, and

Dunkirk had been regarded by the English as a compensation for the loss of Calais, and as a way of access, in case of necessity, into the territory of England's most ancient enemy; moreover, it was apprehended that in hostile hands it might seriously damage the British trade. Yet it was probably the best policy to get rid of it; for it would have been at all times difficult to defend, if France or Spain should make an effort to re-take it; and it was neither a strong fortress, nor possessed a good harbour.

"Time has dissipated," observes Mr. Lister, "much of the delusion which then existed respecting the value of possessions beyond the sea. . . . We need not regret that England does not retain a possession which, neutralising the advantages of our insular position, could, by affording a footing on the Continent, have probably drawn us, still more than we have yet been drawn, into a baneful participation in Continental wars—a possession which must have been a frequent source of jealousy and dispute, and which could scarcely have been retained but at a sacrifice of treasure and life, for which no advantage it might afford would have been an adequate compensation."

About this time, as has already been noticed, the Conspiracies.
Republican party was seriously engaged in compassing the destruction of Royalty. Many old officers of

afterwards by the second and last Duke of Albemarle. It then became the property of Sir Thomas Bond, who, in about 1685, pulled it down, and built Bond Street and Albemarle Street. The name survived till lately in the Clarendon Hotel.

Cromwell were implicated and imprisoned. In London a conspiracy against the King's life was detected. On the occasion of his reviewing one of the Militia regiments, some of the conspirators who were in it had resolved that when they fired a volley to salute the King they should shoot at him. One Bradford, a sergeant of that regiment, was arrested and examined by the King, and confessed the whole plot. This man was subsequently pardoned, and became so loyal a subject, that he was appointed a muster-master in the navy.⁽¹⁾

It was probably in consequence of these treasonable proceedings that a portion of the regiment of Dunkirk Guards had been sent for; and at the disbanding of the garrison "the remaining companies" were ordered to London, and the disaffection that prevailed was made a pretext for retaining the regiment on the home establishment.

ies of

No organised civil force existing at this time in England, and fortunately no foreign foes to disturb the peace abroad, the services of the military were employed in performing the duties which have since devolved upon the police.

Pepys writes in 1662: "The King's Guards and some city companies do walke up and downe the towne these five or six days, which makes me think, and they do say, there are some plots in laying."⁽²⁾ They were also much engaged in carrying out the oppressive laws against Dissenters. An entry in the War Office Records gives a list "of the arms broken at several

⁽¹⁾ James II. i. 397.

⁽²⁾ *Diary*, i. 284.

times in dispersing of Conventicles ; ”⁽¹⁾ another for similar losses “ at the fire in Southwark.”⁽²⁾

In 1664 there appears to have been some uneasiness in Southwark, for this order was issued : “ Our will, &c., is that you march early to-morrow morning into Southwark with two comp^{ys} of foote of Our Guards, there to dispose of them for y^e quiet and peace of that Our Borrough.”

“ To Our Trusty, &c., Sir Robert Biron, Master of Our Ordnance in Ireland, and Lt.-Colonel of Our Guards of Foote.” 2nd March, 1663-4. (*Entry Book* No. 20, p. 9, S.P.O.)

(This officer was the 5th son of Sir John Biron ; his eldest brother was created Lord Biron in 1643. At his death, in 1674, Charles II. merged the appointment of Irish Master-General of Ordnance in that of the Master-General of England.)

Other entries show their employment in apprehending highwaymen, thieves, and other malefactors ; seamen running from their ships or impress-masters ;

⁽¹⁾ “ Charles R., &c. John, Lord Hawley, Captain of a Troop of Horse in the Reg^t commanded by our R^t Trusty, &c., Cousin, Aubrey E. of Oxford. Whereas for the better securing y^e peace of those parts against y^e dangerous attempts of seditious Conventicles and meetings, we have commanded two troops of Our said Reg^t of Horse, and two more companies of Foot, and one of Our Reg^{ts} of Guards” (Lord Wentworth’s) “ to march to York, &c.—Whitehall, 5th Feb., 1663-4. By order, Henry Bennet.” S.P. Dom., Ch. II. (*Mil.*), No. 142. Venner’s insurrection gave the Court a handle for breaking through the late declaration of religious toleration from Breda. The oppressive Act of 22 Car. II., c. i., was the result.

⁽²⁾ “ The sum of £25 to be distributed, as of His Maj^{ties} gracious bounty, to the inferior officers and soldiers, being 191 persons drawn out of both the Regiments of Foot Guards, to work, assist, and hinder the spreading of the fire in Southwark, on the 26th May last.” Dated 9th June, 1676.

destroying all tobacco planted;⁽¹⁾ or patrolling the road from Bedford to Dunstable for thieves. An order issued to the commanding officers of the Foot Guards, in 1672-4, still remains partly in force—"to send a careful officer, with such number of soldiers as you shall think reasonable, to the Theatre in Dorset Garden to keep the peace there, at and about the times of public demonstrations, so that no affront may be given to the spectators, nor no affront to the actors. By his Maties command, Arlington."⁽²⁾

view.

July 4th, 1663, Evelyn records: "I saw his Matys Guards, being of horse and foot 4,000, led by the

(1) "The Life-Guard was sent to Wincheombe (Gloucestershire) to spoil the tobacco there, which it seems the people there do plant contrary to law."—Pepys, iii. 253.

(2) Henry Bennet, b. 1618; fought in the Civil War; was Secretary to the Duke of York during the exile of the Royal Family; Secretary of State in 1662; created Baron 1664, Earl and K.G. 1672. Arlington Street was built on ground granted to him in 1681.

Dorset Gardens Theatre, Dorset Street, Fleet Street, stood fronting the river on the east side of Salisbury Court. Demolished about 1720. See Cunningham.

With respect to the Guards attending places of public amusement, another order may be noted: "It is his Majesty's pleasure that when and as often as you shall have due notice of a ball to be held at the Theatre in the Haymarket, you cause a detachment of 100 private men, with a captain and other commissioned and non-commissioned officers proportionable, to be made from the three regiments of Foot Guards under your command, to march and to do duty during the continuance of the said ball at the said theatre. And they are to take care that his Majties peace be preserved, and as far as possible to prevent all rudeness or indecencies as well in words as in actions; nor are they to permit any persons to enter into the said theatre in habits that may tend to the drawing down reflections upon religion, or in ridicule of the same. And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at Whitehall 27th Nov., 1718. To the Colonels of his Majtys three Regts of Foot Guards." (Mackinnon, ii. 333.) Again, another order, dated 1720: "Whensoever an opera is performed at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, a detachment of 41 private men and non-commissioned officers do duty under the command of a commission officer."

General the Duke of Albemarle, in extraordinary equipage and gallantry, consisting of gentlemen of quality and veteran soldiers, excellently clad, mounted, and ordered, drawn up in battalia before their Maties in Hyde Park, when the old Earl of Cleveland⁽¹⁾ trailed a pike, and led the right hand file in a foote company commanded by the Lord Wentworth, his son, a worthy spectacle and example, being both of them old and valiant soldiers. This was to show the French Ambassador, Monsieur Comminges, there being a great assembly of coaches, &c., in the Park."

The Household Troops at this time were :—

	Private men.
The King's Troop of Horse Guards	200
The Duke of York's do. . . .	150
The Duke of Albemarle's do. . . .	150
The Royal Regt. of Horse Guards	500
The King's Regt. of Foot Guards, under Col. Russell.	1,200
The Lord General's Regt. of Foot Guards	1,000
The King's Regt. of Foot Guards, under Lord Wentworth	1,200
Total	4,400

Besides Officers and Non-commissioned Officers.

Official Establishments. S.P.O.

In August of that year, Charles and his Consort proceeded to Bath for the benefit of the Queen's health: the King's troop of Life-Guards and four companies of his own regiment of Guards were in

⁽¹⁾ He was at this time Captain of the Pensioners. "Trailing a pike" was an expression synonymous with "shouldering a musket," as a volunteer, a compliment which no doubt he intended to pay to his son's regiment. He survived his son, "and dying in 1666, in a good old age to which much contributed the great habit he had got of taking much tobacco." In a marginal note, "Taking a hundred pipes a day."—Lloyd (David), *Memoirs of the Lives, Actions, &c.* Pub. 1668. n. 571

attendance. The first day's progress, on August 26th, was from Whitehall to Maidenhead; on the 27th, to Newbury; to Marlborough on the 28th; and on the 29th, to Bath.⁽¹⁾

respect of
war.

The peaceful avocations of the military were now drawing to an end, and the Royal army was for the first time to be placed on active service. For Charles had decided to unsheath the sword, and encounter the uncertainties of war. A bad feeling had for some time been growing up between the Dutch and English, and the trading companies of either country were in constant collision. The African Company, established by Royal Charter in 1662, was a flourishing one. The Duke of York was at the head of it. The business consisted in importing gold dust from the Coast of Guinea, and supplying slaves at great profit to the West India planters; but it met with formidable rivals in the Dutch traders, who had erected several forts along the coast, and endeavoured as much as possible to arrest the progress of the English. The East India echoed the complaints of the Royal African Company. With so influential a President, a company was not likely to lack means of substantiating its grievances, so "the Duke borrowed two ships of his Majesty, and sent Sir Robert Holmes with them and some other ships belonging to the Company, and some few land men, with which, according to his orders, he seized the Fort of Cape de Vert in Affrica, and took the Castle of Cormentin from the Dutch, leaving garrisons in

(1) *Kingdom's Intelligencer*, from August 17th to 24th, 1663.

both of them, and settling Factorys for the Company all along that Coast.”⁽¹⁾ It appears that the Duke also “borrowed” fifty men of the Coldstream Guards for this expedition.⁽²⁾

Another incident recorded in these Memoirs is worth remembering; it is the introduction of New York to the page of history. “Some time after this the King gave the Duke a Patent for Long Island, in the West Indies, and the tract of land between New England and Mary Land, which always belonged to the Crown of England since it was first discovered, upon which the Dutch had also encroached during the Rebellion, and built a town and some forts, to secure the Bever-trade to themselves: Wherefore the Duke borrow’d two men-of-war of the King, in which he sent Colonell Richard Nicholas with three hundred men, to take possession of that country, which the Dutch gave up upon composition without stricking a strok, most of the Dutch inhabitants remaining there, together with the old English inhabitants, and some other nations who had first planted these with the English, so that Coll. Nicholas remain’d in peaceable possession of that country, which was then call’d New York, and the fort up the River nam’d Albany.”

New York and
Albany.

The Lords and Commons concurred in an address to the Throne, setting forth “that the wrongs, dishonours, and indignities done to His Majesty by the subjects of the United Provinces, by invading his rights in India, Affrica, and elsewhere, and the

(1) James II., i. 400.

(2) Mackinnon, ii. 253. *Ann.*

damages, affronts and injuries done by them to our merchants, are the greatest destruction of our foreign trade; and that His Majesty be humbly moved to take some speedy and effectual course for the redress thereof, and they in prosecution thereof, will with their lives and fortunes, assist His Majesty against all opposition whatever.”⁽¹⁾

War declared.

Charles had a personal antipathy to the Dutch,⁽²⁾ and moreover flattered himself that by raising the English trade upon the ruin of the Dutch, he might both please his subjects and increase his own revenues. The Duke of York was the great promoter of the war⁽³⁾; he, too, disliked these Protestant republicans, moreover the interests of his African Company were at stake. The expenses of the war were estimated at two-and-a-half millions, a sum unprecedented in the annals of English finance. The King of France offered his mediation; as it suited his policy at the time, he was probably sincere in wishing to prevent a collision of the two countries. The real interests of both were opposed to war, accommodation might have been easy, but the passions of the people were roused, the money was voted, and the King issued a declaration of war.⁽⁴⁾

Great exertions were made in fitting out the most

⁽¹⁾ *Lords' Journals*, xi. 600—654.

⁽²⁾ A disgraceful letter addressed by Charles to the Duchess of Orleans, on the subject of his hatred to the Dutch, is published in Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain*, I. App. i., p. 67. (*Ed.* 1790.)

⁽³⁾ “To the Duke's. Some discourse of the condition of the Fleet, in order to a Dutch war, for that, I perceive, the Duke hath a mind it should come to.” (*Pepys*, ii. 114.)

⁽⁴⁾ *Commons' Journals*, February 3rd, 1664—5.

formidable fleet that England had ever seen. The Duke proceeded to Portsmouth on the 23rd of March, to superintend the preparations. The part which the troops were called upon to play was to furnish detachments to serve on board the fleet, a practice which continued long after the reign of Queen Anne, when marine regiments were instituted. A corps had been raised in 1664 more especially for sea service. It was called "THE ADMIRAL'S REGIMENT," *the Admiral par excellence* being the Duke of York; this, therefore, was his regiment. Sir William Killigrew⁽¹⁾ was appointed its first Colonel. He dying on the 24th of July of the following year, was succeeded by Sir Charles Wray, the Lieut.-Col., and Major Sir Charles Littleton was promoted to his place.⁽²⁾ It consisted of six companies of two hundred men each, besides officers, and on account of the special service for which it was designed, was armed with firelocks only.⁽³⁾ The Grand Duke of Tuscany, who landed at Plymouth on a visit to this country in 1669, saw a company of them there. The

(1) Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen. His daughter married Frederic Zuleistein de Nassau, a natural son of Henry, Prince of Orange, the grandfather of William III.

(2) *Birch MSS.*, 4,182. The following advertisement appeared:—"Any persons that desire to be entertained as souldiers in the Regt. of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, may repair to the lodging of Sir Charles Littleton, in Scotland Yard, Major to the s^d Regt., and be there entertained to their satisfaction."—*The Newes*, No. 46, June 15th, 1665.

(3) "Sir W. Killigrew to be Coll. of the Admiral's Regt. of Foot, now forthwith to be raised, consisting of six comp^{ys}, each comp^y. of 200 men, besides officers."—Nov. 5th, 1664. "1,200 good firelocks, with the like number of Bandaliers, 24 Halberts, and 6 drums." 16th Nov.—*S.P. Dom.*, Ch. II. (*Mil.*), No. 142.

garrison was probably paraded in his honour. "The Governor," he writes, "is my Lord John Granville, Earl of Bath, and Sir — Skelton is his lieutenant. Five companies of about seventy men each, officers and soldiers, are on duty there; one of these belongs to the Duke's regiment. The men are very handsome, and in excellent order, four companies wearing red jackets lined with yellow, and that of the Duke's yellow with red lining."⁽¹⁾ The "four companies" can be identified as belonging to "The Holland Regiment" by a "List of the Quarters of the Forces" in that year, printed hereafter. *

Holland Regiment.

The Holland regiment came over to England this year (1665), its return being demanded by the King in consequence of the hostilities of the two countries. There had been several corps composed of English and Scotch, who had been fighting for the liberties of the United Provinces for many years. They were recognised by the English Government, and had been originally recruited from their native countries, on condition of their return, should their services be required at home. When England had become a Commonwealth, and the Royal Family was in exile, these regiments preserved their sentiments of allegiance to their native Sovereign; so that when the arrangements for the Restoration were in progress, the officers proceeded to the Hague and waited on Charles II., eager to manifest their loyalty. Among them, curiously enough, was a Cromwell, a cousin-

⁽¹⁾ Travels of Cosmo III. during the reign of Charles II., 1669. Translated from the MS. in the Laurentian Lib., Florence, p. 123.

german of the first Lord Protector. He seems not to have been proud of the relationship, and obtained the King's permission to change his name to Williams.⁽¹⁾

At this period (1665) the British regiments were absorbed into one English and one Scotch regiment. The return of the Scotch regiment was not demanded, because it was no longer purely national, many Dutch, French, and Germans having been admitted into it. The demand for the return of the English one was complied with, and on its arrival in England, the King conferred the colonelcy on Lieut.-Colonel Robert Sidney,⁽²⁾ on the retirement of Cromwell, *alias* Williams, who had by this time attained to the command. Sidney died in 1668, when he was succeeded by Sir Walter Vane, killed at the battle of Senef, when Condé defeated the Prince of Orange, 11th Aug., 1674. The regiment was then bestowed on the Earl of Mulgrave, who retained it, with a short intermission when he went in command of the troops sent out to Tangiers, until 1685, when he was appointed Lord Chamberlain, and Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, who had just been knighted for his services at Sedgemoor,

(1) Sir William Lower's *Account of the Voiage and residence in Holland of His Majesty Charles II.*, p. 54.

(2) Third son of Robert second Earl of Leicester, and brother to Algernon and Henry. He was the alleged father of the Duke of Monmouth. The name was anciently spelt Sydney.

"Col. Robt. Sydney to be Colonel of Our Holland Regiment of Foot, raised or to be raised for Our Service." 31st May, 1665. —*S.P. Dom., Ch. II. (Mil.)*, 142.

"Sir W. Vane to be Colonel of Our Holland Regiment, in the place of Robert Sydney, deceased; Aug. 12, 1668. (*Ibid.*, p. 191.) — The Earl of Oxford, afterwards colonel of the Royal Horse Guards, had preceded Cromwell as colonel of this regiment.

succeeded him. After the Revolution this officer resigned his commission, and he was replaced by Charles Churchill (lieut.-colonel of Trelawny's Tangier regiment and brother of the Duke of Marlborough), who retained the command until 1707, when he was appointed a colonel in the Coldstream Guards.⁽¹⁾

When William III. had taken possession of the throne, it was considered a matter of political importance to send away those British regiments which were favourably disposed to the cause of King James. This was effected on the plea of active service by embarking them for Holland under a Treaty of Alliance with the United Provinces.⁽²⁾ This regiment was one of them selected for that purpose. The following Order was issued:—

“Whereas We have ordered the several Battallions and Regiments following, viz., two Battallions of the First Regiment of Guards, two Battallions of the Coldstream Regiment of Guards; the Royal Regiment of Foot; Prince George Hereditary Prince of Denmark's Regiment; *the Regiment commanded by Colonel Charles Churchill*; the Royal Regiment of Fusiliers; and the Reg^t commanded by Col. Hodges, (*xvi.th Reg^t*) to embark for Holland, in pursuance of the

⁽¹⁾ He commanded a brigade at Steenkirk and Landen (1693). On the latter occasion he took his nephew, the Duke of Berwick, prisoner, with his A.D.C., Captain Achmuty.

⁽²⁾ France had declared war against the States General. These had consequently demanded from the King of England those succours which he was bound by the treaty of Nimeguen to furnish. (Macaulay, iii. 38.)

Treaty of Alliance with the States General of the United Provinces ; we do hereby charge and require you to take care that the said Regiments be forthwith embarked accordingly," &c.

"To Our, &c., John Lord Churchill, Lieut.-General of Our Forces."⁽¹⁾

The Holland regiment was so designated in official documents during the next twenty years. It obtained rank in the English army from the date of its arrival. When the Prince of Orange came over to England in 1688, there were then three English and three Scotch regiments in the Dutch service. These accompanied him. The Holland Regiment could then no longer claim its special designation. King William bestowed upon it the honorary title of PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK'S REGIMENT. The Prince was in command of "The Admiral's" regiment, of which he had been colonel since James came to the throne. This regiment was absorbed in the Coldstream Guards by order of the 19th March, 1688-9. At the death of the Prince in 1708, the Buffs were no longer distinguished by his name. But regiments were then described by the name of their colonels, and thus this one is best known as "Churchill's" during Marlborough's wars, until it acquired its distinctive appellation of THE BUFFS, much more likely from the colour of the lining of its coats than, as Grose states (ii. 212), "from its having been the first whose accoutrements were made of leather prepared from the buffalo, after the manner

The Buffs.

⁽¹⁾ *Marching Orders*, War Off. Rec^{ds}, P.R.O.

of shamois." In 1702, the 31st Regiment was raised, and having buff facings, the elder corps became known as THE OLD BUFFS, to distinguish it from THE YOUNG BUFFS. However, as other regiments have buff facings, that distinction has ceased, and the 3rd Regiment is well known and officially described as THE BUFFS.

In Cosmo's travels the Holland regiment is stated in 1669 to have been clothed in "red jackets lined with yellow." In the *List of the Army* published by Nathan Brooks in 1684,⁽¹⁾ the uniform of the regiment is stated to be "red lined with a flesh-colour," and in "The Antiquarian Repertory" an account is printed of the Review at Hounslow Heath in 1686. This regiment is described as wearing "red lined with ash, with ash-coloured breeches and stockings," that is, very light buff, or what may be called flesh-colour.

About the period of the legislative union of England and Scotland in 1707, Prince George of Denmark's Regiment was permitted to display a dragon on its colours as a regimental badge. Some have seen in this selection a possible—but probably groundless—indication of the origin of this regiment in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, because a dragon was one of the supporters of her armorial bearings. Brooks says, "This regiment flyes the Red Cross, bordered white in a green Field." The motto of the regiment appears to have been "*Veteri frondescit honore.*"⁽²⁾

(1) This "List," quoted repeatedly by Cannon and by Mackinnon, cannot be found in the British Museum, or in any of the military libraries, but a MS. copy is in possession of Sir Albert Woods, Herald's Coll.

(2) Letter Book, *penes* Inspector of Colours, Herald's Coll.

In 1782 all regiments, except "Royal" ones, were appropriated to different counties in order to promote recruiting, and THE BUFFS were ordered to be styled in future the 3rd, or East Kent Regiment. This regiment is considered to possess the privilege of marching through the City of London with drums beating and colours flying. "We cannot, however, learn," says Grose, "whence it has derived this privilege; whether from having exerted itself in the protection of the City, or from having, as has been vaguely reported, been at first composed of men who belonged to the train-bands."

Grose is so far correct that no documentary evidence has yet appeared in support of the privilege. That the regiment performed any special service for the protection of the City, or that it was raised from the train-bands, are indeed vague reports. The train-bands were composed of men of like status to our militia-men, and were unlikely to enlist in a continuous foreign service.

That the Buffs possess this privilege seems certain. The following quotation confirms this, and reports a curious circumstance:—

"The 3rd Regiment of Foot have the privilege of marching through London with drums beating and colours flying, which the City disputes, not only with all other corps, but even with the King's Guards going on duty to the Tower. It happened in the year 1746 that, as a detachment of Marines was beating along Cheapside, one of the magistrates came

up to the officer, requiring him to cease the drum, as no soldiers were allowed to interrupt the civil repose. The captain commanding (an intimate friend of mine) immediately said, 'Sir, we are Marines!' 'Oh, Sir,' replied the Alderman, 'I beg pardon; I did not know it! pray continue your route as you please.'"
(*Military Collections*, &c., by Major Donkin, 1777, p. 134.)

A Knotty
Question.

This anecdote leaves a question as to whether Marines were not then considered soldiers, or whether they, like the Buffs, were permitted this military privilege; but as the City disputed it "with all other corps," the first seems the solution.

Preparations.

Active measures were continued for the coming conflict with Holland; 600 men were added to Colonel Russell's regiment, and 500 to the Coldstream.⁽¹⁾ Ireland also supplied a contingent for naval service.⁽²⁾

A Duel.

About this time a duel took place between the Duke of Richmond and Colonel Russell. They and

(1) "To the Rt. Hon. Jo. Lord Berkley, and the rest of the Commissioners for managing the office of his Majesty's Ordnance."

"These are to desire you to cause to be deliver'd out of his Maties stores in the Tower of London, unto Qr Mr Thomas West, 600 Matchlocks and Bandaliers, being for the use of 600 men which are to be added to his Maties Regt of Foot Guards, under the command of Col. Russell, and to be employed for Sea Service.

"This 24th day of Feb., 1665 $\frac{1}{2}$.

"Given under my hand, ALBEMARLE."

Also "500 Matchlocks, with 500 Bandaliers to Capt. Jo. Huitson, for the use of 500 men, which are to be raised by his Maties Orders, and added to my Regt of Foot Guards for Sea Service."

(2) "6th Aprill, 1665.—This day 600 soldiers from Ireland marched through London towards the fleet." (*Birch MSS.*, 4,182.)

their seconds were in consequence committed to the Tower. On petitioning the King the seconds only were liberated. On April 22nd the Duke was released, and the Colonel on the following day. It being considered "a regard of state to y^e Duke, who, being of Royal blood, ought to have some advantage on his antagonist."⁽¹⁾

In the midst of the preparations for war, Lord Wentworth died on the 28th of February, and his regiment of Guards was incorporated with that of Colonel Russell, making one regiment of twenty-four companies.

Amalgamation.

In the beginning of May the fleet put to sea, consisting of seventy-two men-of-war of different rates, and twenty-six armed merchant-ships, besides fire-ships and tenders. It was divided as usual into three squadrons; the Duke of York; Commander-in-Chief, took charge of the red, Prince Rupert of the white, and the Earl of Sandwich of the blue. It stood for the coast of Holland to blockade the ports, but it was driven off by bad weather. At length the wind changed, and the Dutch fleet came forth, composed of 113 ships of war, divided into seven squadrons, eleven fire-ships and yachts, the whole commanded by Opdam.

The Fleet puts to Sea.

At three o'clock on the morning of the 3rd of June, Naval Victory.

(1) *Ibid.*—Charles Stuart, 6th Duke of Richmond and Lenox, great-grandson of Lord D'Aubigny, brother of Darnley, husband of Mary Queen of Scotland. Charles II. never forgave him for marrying the beautiful Frances Stuart, and sent him—as soon as he could—into honourable exile as Minister to Denmark, where he shortly after died in 1672, *s. p.* The King revived the title in favour of his own son by the Duchess of Portsmouth in 1675.

1665, the two fleets encountered one another off the coast of Suffolk, both drawn up in the same order of battle, "all upon a line." The Duke says that this was the first time in a naval action that fighting in line, and a regular form of battel, was observed. The two nations fought with characteristic obstinacy; at one time the Duke's flag-ship was in great danger. The action raged till past two in the afternoon, when the Dutch Admiral's ship blew up. Dismay seized their whole line, and all the ships that could get away made all possible haste back to their own coast, the English pursuing them as far as the Texel. According to the Duke's account, the enemy lost twenty men-of-war; eight of these were burnt, the rest captured with 4,000 men on board, four admirals, and in all 10,000 men. The loss of the British was comparatively insignificant—"800 men killed and lost." Among the flag-officers killed was Sir John Lawson, a distinguished old Commonwealth officer; also the Earls of Marlborough, and Falmouth the Duke's favourite and Captain of his Life Guards; Lord Musketry, and Mr. Boyle a young volunteer, son of the Earl of Burlington. These three last were killed by one shot as they stood by the Duke on the quarter-deck.⁽¹⁾

The Plague.

It was a glorious triumph for the English navy, but the news of the victory fell dead on the hearts of a suffering population. The fearful visitation of the plague had been desolating London since the beginning of the preceding year. Lamentations were in

(1) James, ii. 412.

every house, and the nation wept for the sufferings of the metropolis.

On the 6th of November, the soldiers who had been encamped in Hyde Park were allowed to return to quarters in the City, in consequence of the diminished mortality.⁽¹⁾ The Court had removed for security to Oxford, and there, on November 7th of the memorable year 1665, was commenced that publication, since so well known—and often so anxiously expected—the *London Gazette*. Albemarle, with characteristic pertinacity, remained in town, the sole representative of Government, and faithfully performed his duty, though he considered himself in greater danger than if he were in action with the Dutch fleet.⁽²⁾ In justice it must be stated that Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Earl of Craven, were his voluntary companions in the hour of danger.

In January, 1666, Louis XIV. declared war against England; a change having been wrought in his policy by the death of Philip IV. of Spain. He felt that the time had now arrived when he must be prepared to prosecute or relinquish his claim to Flanders. He hoped that by making common cause with the Dutch, they would not oppose his intended

War with
France.

(1) *Add. MSS.* 5,810, fol. 295.—“Total deaths from Plague, 68,596. The population of London at this time being 600,000.” (*Archæologia*, xxxvii. 18.)

(2) *Life of Clarendon*, ii. 486. Gumble remained with him, and gives an appalling account of the time. “This noble passage in Monck’s history,” observes Stuart Wortley, “is enough to atone for many a fault, and displays his generous dauntless intrepidity in its native colours” (p. 302).

occupation of the Spanish provinces of the Netherlands.⁽¹⁾

One would suppose England to have now been overmatched. That the war was still popular here, is evidenced by the fact of an additional grant of £1,250,000 made to the King by Parliament, and a gift of £120,000 to the Duke of York; "encouraged by such zeal in the representatives of the people, the Government did not quail even at the alarming prospect of France being added to the number of their assailants."⁽²⁾

Return of
Scotch Regi-
ment.

In consequence of the altered relations between England and France, the first repressive act of the former was to demand the return of the British subjects in the service of the latter. The requisition was complied with, and Douglas's Scotch regiment was sent over to England, and landed at Rye, 12th of June, 1666.⁽³⁾ According to Daniel's "History of the French Army," this was not its first appearance in England. He says that this regiment, "de Douglas Ecossais," being in garrison at Avésnes in 1661, received orders to proceed to England, where it rendered very important service to Charles II.; and was, during the year that it remained in England, recruited from eight companies to thirty-three of at least one hundred men each.⁽⁴⁾ But it

(1) "Sous prétexte de la guerre d'Angleterre, je disposerais mes forces et mes intelligences à commencer plus heureusement celle de Flandre."—*Œuvres de Louis XIV.*, ii. 9.

(2) Lister, ii. 348.

(3) *Lond. Gazette*, No. 61.

(4) *Mil. Fran.*, ii. 411.

is remarkable that none of the English newspapers refer to its presence here. He says, further, that this regiment first came to France from Scotland in the reign of James VI., and the Chevalier Hepburn (or "Hebron," as it was called in France, as being easier to pronounce) was the Colonel.

Sir John Hepburn entered the service of Louis XIII. in 1633, he being then thirty-two years of age. He had previously commanded for many years the Scots Brigade, under Gustavus Adolphus, but on some difference he resigned his commission; and Louis at once offered him, on his coming to France, the command of a regiment, to be made up of several independent Scotch companies. He soon found himself Colonel of a thousand men. A jealousy of the brave foreigner was not unnatural; and in derision, Hepburn's regiment received the *sobriquet* of Pontius Pilate's Guards.⁽¹⁾ Louis XIII. conferred upon Hepburn, in recognition of his distinguished services, the dignity of Marshal of France, the highest military rank to which a subject could attain. But before intelligence of it reached him, he had been killed at the siege of Saverne on the 8th of July, 1636. He was buried with great honour in the Cathedral of Toul. His nephew, Sir James Hepburn, succeeded to the command of the regiment; he fell in action in the following year, when Lord James Douglas became the Colonel, and the regiment was generally known by the name of Douglas

John Hepburn.

⁽¹⁾ Grant's *Memorials of Sir J. Hepburn*. Michel, *Les Ecosais en France*, ii. 310.

(DOUGLAS ECOSSAIS); he was killed on service in 1665, and was buried in the Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés. His half-brother, Lord George Douglas (created Earl of Dumbarton in 1673), succeeded him, and well sustained the credit of the corps.

When peace was restored between England and France, the regiment returned to its old quarters. It was afterwards finally recalled to England in June or July, 1678, on the rupture between Charles II. and Louis XIV., when it was permanently placed on the English establishment, and became well known as Dumbarton's Regiment. It brought over a grand character of valiant services. It was quartered first in England, and then in Ireland. "They were quartered in the counties of Kildare and Catherlogh, and were represented to be entirely Papists, and Lord Blayney and Sir Robert Parsons the only Protestants, but such was not the fact," says Carte. "But whatever the case was, these men were only sent thither in order to be kept in a body to go on some foreign service, to which his Grace wished them removed, since some of their officers were Papists, though no soldiers could behave themselves more orderly; and the men were less complained of than any companies of the standing army." ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ *Life of Ormond*, iv. 559. In the debate in the Commons in 1680 on Tangier, John Hampden said: "Among the rest of the regiments that have been sent to Tangier, I think there is my Lord of Dumbarton's; they were looked upon as rank Papists all the while they were here, and I believe in Ireland too." (*Parl. Hist.*, iv. 1,218.) As Dumbarton was a Roman Catholic, possibly the assertion was not far from the fact.

In the spring of 1680, four companies were embarked at Kinsale for Tangiers to reinforce the beleaguered garrison. Four more companies shortly followed these, and during the summer eight more companies were dispatched to the same destination, under the command of Major Sir James Hacket. The arrival of these celebrated veterans is thus announced by a writer of the time: "After this landed the valorous Hacket, Major to that renowned regiment of the Earl of Dumbarton; all of them men of approved valour, whose fame eccho'd the sound of their glorious actions in France and other nations; leaving behind them a report of their glorious victories wherever they came."⁽¹⁾

Precedence next to the Foot Guards was granted to the Regiment while it was serving at Tangiers, and upon its return to England, in 1684, Charles bestowed upon it the title of THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF FOOT. Its establishment consisted of 21 companies; 1 col., 1 lt.-col., 1 major, 18 captains, 1 capt.-lieut., 41 lieuts., 21 ensigns, 1 adjt., 1 chaplain, 12 masters and marshal, 1 chirurgion, 1 do.'s mate, 1 drum-major, 1 piper, 42 drummers, 63 serjts., 63 corps., and 1,050 privates. The privilege of having two lieutenants and 3 serjeants to each company appears to have been peculiar to the regiment at this time. A warrant of James II., in 1686, directs that "as any of the lieutenants of the Royal Reg^t shall die, or be displaced, their number be reduced to one in each

(¹) *Tangier's Rescue*, by John Ross, A.D. 1681.

comp'y, and in like manner the serjeants be reduced to two.”⁽¹⁾

The Regiment continued to be held in high estimation by James II.⁽²⁾ At Sedgemoor it occupied the right of the position, and bore the brunt of the battle. Fountainhall extols the prowess of his compatriots on that occasion, and asserts that the King owed the victory to the vigilance of the Scots.⁽³⁾

A Mutiny.

The Royal Regiment continued in unswerving loyalty to its legitimate sovereign. After the flight of the King it was sent to Oxford. Dumbarton was dismissed from the command, and Ginkel was made its Colonel. This was a high compliment to the Regiment, which, however, it did not appreciate. It had never yet been commanded except by a Scotchman. When William III. had ascended the throne, this was one of the regiments selected to be removed from the country on the plea of foreign service. It received its route to march in three divisions from its quarters near Oxford to Ipswich; the march to commence on the 5th, 6th, and 7th Jan., 1689, and to rest every 3rd or 4th day, as the officer-in-chief shall see cause (*Marching-order Book*, P.R.O.). Arrived at Ipswich, a spirit of insubordination—for the first time known in these ranks—burst forth. The few officers who endeavoured to restrain the men

⁽¹⁾ *Establishment Book*, 1684 to 1692. War Office Records, P.R.O.

⁽²⁾ Tyrconnel said to Clarendon in 1686, “This Scotch battalion, which is newly come into England, has undone us; the King is so pleased with it that he will have all his forces in the same posture.”—*Clar., Cor.*, i. 433.

⁽³⁾ *Diary*, p. 204; and *Historical Observes*, p. 704.

were overpowered, and the battalion, with colours flying and drums beating, marched out of the town, having secured four guns and the military chest, with the intention of making their way to Scotland, declaring that their national assembly had not as yet renounced allegiance to King James, and that by the laws of nations they were not subject to the orders of any King but of the one acknowledged in Scotland. A panic seized the country, for it was believed that opposition to the new dynasty was not confined to this battalion. The Royal Fusiliers were at Harwich, and they were mistrusted, and the Scots Guards were on their march to Harwich and Ipswich. King William immediately communicated the event to both Houses of the Legislature, informing them that there were 1,500 men in arms. The Houses combined in addresses to the King to take effectual steps to put down the insurrection, and to proclaim the fugitives and all their partisans as rebels and traitors.⁽¹⁾ The King, in reply, stated "that he had already appointed three regiments of horse and his own regiment of Dragoons with orders to stop them, and bring them to their duty." Ginkel was sent in command against his own regiment.

The Royal Scots took their way through Lincolnshire, with a view of avoiding in a fenny country the attack of cavalry. Many of the disaffected retraced their steps, for Blathwayt wrote on the 19th of March to Major Maitland, of the Scots Guards: "I have had no news as yet of the Regiment of Dumbarton, only

Mutineers defeated.

(1) *Lords and Commons Journals*, 15th March, 1688-9.

that they are all returned, except 400, to their colours, who will be certainly cutt off by the troops that are sent in pursuit of them, or by the country people, in virtue of the inclosed proclamation."

The *London Gazette* gives the following account :

"Fokingham (*Folklingham*) in Lincolnshire, March 19th, 1688-9. The Reg^{ts} of Horse, commanded by Sir Jo. Lanier and Colonel Langston, having joined the Dutch troops of Horse and Dragoons, under the command of Lt.-General Ginkell, and being informed that the rebels were marching to Seaford (*Sleaford*), they advanced in good order, the Dragoons making the beginning. The Rebels no sooner saw the Troops, but they drew up in battle, planting their 4 field-pieces to the best advantage, having on one side a great hedge, and on the other much water, which obliged our Dragoons to swiꝑ. But knowing the resolve of our troops to reduce them to their obedience, they beat a parly, and laying down their arms surrendered upon discretion. There were taken 4 field-pieces, and 20 officers, and 500 soldiers were made prisoners."

An order was issued "to Lt.-Generall Ginkell, or the Officer in Chief with the forces at Vockingham or in those parts," that whereas you have seized the rebellious officers and soldiers of the Royall Regiment of Foot, you cause them to be separated in three divisions, and to be safely conducted by such numbers of Horse and Dragoons as you shall think fitt to London; and that, if it shall be necessary, you order them to be tyed together in such numbers as may be fitt for the better bringing them to London. And you are to take especiall care that Lieutenant Gawen, the ringleader of the said rebellion, be secured, if it be possible, and brought hither in safe custody, as also the officers with all possible expedition, to be proceeded against according to law."⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ Letter from the Earl of Nottingham. *Secretary's Letter Book*. P.R.O.

Mutiny was not then a legal crime, but the ring-leaders were tried at the Bury Assizes, and convicted of treason in levying war against the King. William—possibly in secret admiring their fidelity—pardoned all the prisoners, and contented himself by ordering the regiment to its original place of destination.⁽¹⁾ The result proved that the King had acted not less wisely than generously, for the British contingent, under the command of the Earl of Marlborough, was soon involved in active service. On August 20th, at Walcourt, in a sharp action with the French, the Royals and the other British regiments behaved with distinguished gallantry, and their conduct during the ensuing campaign elicited a high encomium in the despatches of the Commander-in-Chief of the combined army, the Prince of Waldeck.

In 1684 the regiment was styled THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF FOOT, acquiring seniority from the date of its first service in England. In 1751, when regiments were first numbered, it was called THE FIRST OR ROYAL REGIMENT OF FOOT. In 1812, by approval of the Prince Regent, THE FIRST REGIMENT OF FOOT, OR ROYAL SCOTS. In 1821 it was ordered to resume its former appellation of THE FIRST, OR ROYAL REGIMENT OF FOOT; and in 1872, by Her Majesty's command, it was to be in future described as 1st (THE ROYAL SCOTS) REGIMENT.

The mutiny of the Royal Scots produced a law which made an important innovation in the English constitution, viz., the Act for Punishing Mutiny and

First Mutiny
Act.

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.* to the Judge, Sir William Dolben, Aug. 9th, 1689.

Desertion, thereby giving a legal sanction to the establishment of a standing army. This Act, limited to the space of one year, has ever since been annually renewed, but the form serves to keep up the recollection that standing armies were deemed illegal by our ancestors.⁽¹⁾

Rupert and
Albemarle.

Charles having decided that his brother should not hazard his person at sea again that year,⁽²⁾ Rupert and Albemarle were appointed to the joint command of the fleet. The King evidently thought more highly of his cousin's intrepidity than of his judgment, as he had every reason to do. His rank and service could not, however, be passed over. Charles therefore desired that he should be associated with one in whom he could place confidence. It will be seen, however, in the sequel, that one did not display more judgment than the other. Clarendon was commissioned to propound the joint command. It was no easy matter to arrange between the fiery Prince and the independent old campaigner. The mission was successful; duty to his country was paramount with Albemarle. He made but one stipulation, that "it must remain a secret from his wife, for if she knew that he had not the chief command, she would break into such passions as would be very uneasy for him."⁽³⁾

The joint Admirals put to sea in May, 1666, with a fleet of more than seventy sail; but a report having reached them that the Dutch fleet would not be

(1) Dalrymple, ii. 297.

(2) James II., i. 420.

(3) *Life of Clarendon*, ii. 485.

ready to come out for a month, and that a French squadron from the Mediterranean was approaching, Albemarle, after capturing a few merchantmen, returned to the Downs, and Rupert, with twenty ships, proceeded to the westward, in quest of the Frenchmen. Unfortunately, neither report was true. Scarcely had Rupert left St. Helen's, than a Dutch fleet of above eighty-men-of-war was descried off the North Foreland. Orders of recall were despatched to Rupert; these by culpable negligence, were forwarded by ordinary means, and not express; but when received, he evinced no alacrity to obey them and to return, as was his duty, with the utmost celerity.⁽¹⁾

Notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, Albemarle rashly resolved in his own mind to fight. A council of war was forthwith held on board the flag-ship,⁽²⁾ and the signal was made to bear down upon the enemy. A desperate action, in which the English vessels suffered severely, took place, to be resumed the next day. Re-inforcements of sixteen sail had joined the enemy during the night, and it was only by heroic exertions that Albemarle could protract the unequal contest till evening. On the third day the *Prince*, a noble ship of 90 brass guns, unfortunately run on the Galloper, and was lost,⁽³⁾

(1) "Home by the 'Change, which is full of people still, and all talk highly of the failure of the *Prince*, in not making more haste after his instructions did come." (Pepys, ii. 384.)

(2) "They" (the Commanders) "durst not oppose it at the Council of War, for fear of being call'd cowards, though it was wholly against their judgment to fight that day." (*Ibid.*, 409.)

(3) Evelyn, ii. 6.

and the rest would probably have been captured had not Rupert arrived to their relief. Thus reinforced, Albemarle renewed the fight on the fourth day, until a mist separated the combatants, and each returned to port, for both stood in need of repairs. That the Dutch might claim the victory cannot be doubted, though, considering the disparity of force, no disgrace could attach to the English. Albemarle's courage is unquestioned,⁽¹⁾ but it was a serious error to hazard an engagement before Rupert's division had returned. His conduct was severely and deservedly censured at home, but Rupert's delay is inexplicable and unpardonable on any favourable hypothesis.⁽²⁾

By extraordinary exertions the two fleets again confronted one another in less than three weeks. They met on June 25th, a severe action ensued, the English were victorious, and the Dutch fled into the Texel. For weeks Rupert and Albemarle rode triumphant along the coast, interrupting the commerce and insulting the pride of the enemy. In August, Holmes, with boats and fire-ships, entered the Channel between Ulie and Schelling, and burnt and destroyed one hundred and fifty-two merchantmen and four men-of-war.⁽³⁾ On the following day

(1) He must have been exposed to considerable personal danger. "The Duke had all his tackle taken off by a chain-shot, and his breeches to his skin were shot off."—*Lond. Gaz.*, No. 59, from June 4th to 7th, 1666.—Also Skinner, 377.

(2) Clarendon (*Life of*, iii. 72) says "the wind chopped about to retard him." Rupert wrote a "Narrative of the Miscarriages of the late War," but gives no explanation of the circumstance. Albemarle also put forth a Narrative. They are printed in *Coms. Journs.*, ix. 11.

(3) *Ibid.*, iii. 80.

he set fire to Bandaris, the chief town of the little island. De Witt, maddened at the sight, swore to be revenged, and he maintained his oath.

A characteristic incident of Albemarle is related by Mulgrave, and is worth transcribing, as showing the opinion entertained of him by his contemporaries. The young Earl was a volunteer on board the flag-ship. He observed that Albemarle left all things to the conduct of Rupert, declaring modestly that he was no seaman. One day Mulgrave was witness of a hot dispute between the two. "When we first espied the Dutch fleet sailing towards us, our whole blue squadron was astern, much farther from us, so that Prince Rupert thought it absolutely necessary to slacken sail, that they might have time to join us. But Albemarle opposed it eagerly, undertaking that the ship in which they were, with about twenty more, would prove sufficient to beat all the enemy's fleet; at least hold them in play till the rest of ours came up. The Prince, astonished at such unaccountable intrepidity, made us smile to see him take on himself the timorous, cautious, and prudential part, which did not use to be his custom. He declared he would never consent to such a rashness as might very probably cost us the loss of our Admiral's ship, and consequently of our whole fleet afterwards, which obliged the good old man to yield at last, but with a great deal of reluctance. As soon as the bloody flag was set up, before the storm arose which parted us, Mr. Savill and myself being on the quarter-deck, 'spied

Albemarle on board.

him charging a very little pistol and putting it in his pocket, which was so odd a sort of weapon on such an occasion, that we could imagine no reason for it, except his having taken a resolution of going down into the powder-room to blow up the ship, in case at any time it should be in danger of being taken, for he had often said that he would answer for nothing, but that we should never be carried into Holland; and therefore we, in a laughing way, most mutinously resolved to throw him overboard, in case we should ever catch him going down into the powder-room.”⁽¹⁾

In the middle of August the French fleet, under the Duke de Beaufort, arrived in the Channel from the Mediterranean, and the Dutch fleet came out to meet it, but before they met a violent tempest arose, and all ships had to take refuge where they could.

The Fire of
London.

That storm which had prevented the juncture of the allied fleets, or the collision of either with the English, blew with fatal effect across the land, and aggravated a calamity, which effected indeed the purgation of a cramped and infected city, but was a fearful remedy for its suffering population. The Great Fire of London burst out at daybreak on Sunday, 2nd of September, 1666, and the wind blowing from the

⁽¹⁾ *Mems.* of Jo. Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire (ii. 5), son of the Earl of Mulgrave. Born 1649; began his military education under Turenne. Took part in the Revolution of 1688, and remained loyal to King James until he fled to France. Dryden says of him—

“True to his Prince, but not a slave of state.”

(*Absalom and Achitophel.*)

He was created Marquess of Normanby by William III. in 1694, and Duke of Buckinghamshire by Queen Anne in 1703.

east increased hourly in violence ; so that the conflagration spread with amazing rapidity. For four days and nights the flames raged, and the inhabitants of 13,200 houses became homeless.⁽¹⁾

Charles, who had returned to the Metropolis, displayed an energy of mind and body of which his most intimate friends thought him incapable.⁽²⁾ Burnet says, "The King and the Duke were almost all the day long on horseback with the Guards, seeing to all that could be done."⁽³⁾ Albemarle was on board the fleet at Portsmouth ; the King sent for him, and he arrived in London only on the 7th ; the populace declaring, so says Gumble (p. 446), that if "Old George" had been in town, the calamity would not have occurred. The Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Bludworth, "a silly man," as Pepys thought, had hesitated to adopt decisive measures. For several hours he refused the aid of the military ; at last houses were blown up with gunpowder, as the Duke of York relates, "that so the flames might have no matter to feed on."

Albemarle sent
for.

The *London Gazette* (April 23rd, 1666) records that several officers and soldiers of the late Commonwealth were indicted at the Old Bailey for conspiring to procure the death of the King and the overthrow of the Government. Their design was to surprise the Tower,

(1) "200,000 people of all ranks and degrees dispersed and lying along towards Islington and Highgate." (Evelyn, ii. 14.)

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 13.—*Life of Clarendon*, iii. 101.

(3) *Own Times*, i. 426.—A warrant, dated 1st May, 1667, is quoted by Mackinnon, ii. 253, "To replace 120 firelocks lost by the Coldstream Guards during the Fire of London."

to kill the Duke of Albemarle, Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, and then to have declared for an equal division of lands and other matters. The City was to have been fired, and the Horse Guards to have been surprised in the inns where they were quartered, "several ostlers having been gained for that purpose."

A republican council was sitting in London, which was in communication with another in Holland. Algernon Sydney and a numerous band of malcontents had offered their services to the Dutch; and the former having proceeded to Paris, obtained from Louis XIV. money to enable the party to commence operations in England. The 3rd of September was selected as appropriate for the attempt, as being found by Lily's Almanack to be a lucky day; a planet ruling which prognosticated the downfall of the Monarchy. By a curious coincidence the fire broke out on the 2nd of September. The Papists were accused, on no true foundation, of having set fire to the City.⁽¹⁾

Proposals of
Peace.

A time when the spirit of the English had such cause for depression was favourable to the entertainment of proposals of peace, and communications were exchanged between the respective Governments. The scourges of war, pestilence, and famine had terribly crippled the English exchequer. Parliament had been most liberal in its grants. Pepys, as Secretary to the Navy, admitted that more than £4,000,000 had been given for the war, that only about £2,200,000 had been expended on it, that there was a debt of £900,000

(1) *Lond. Gaz.*—Pepys, 13th Dec., 1666.—Lingard, *n. sub an.* 1666.

on the Navy, and that a very awkward question might arise as to what had become of the money.⁽¹⁾ Therefore, in expectation of a speedy peace, it was resolved in an evil hour—that the ships of the first and second rate should be laid up in ordinary; and only lighter vessels kept in commission. The Duke of York says he “oppos’d all he could the taking of these measures,” urging that they were bad policy and false economy.⁽²⁾

Louis had now completed his arrangements for the invasion of Flanders, and was therefore desirous of getting this English war off his hands, and quite prepared to throw over his Dutch allies. A secret treaty was agreed upon between him and Charles; the correspondence being addressed to Henrietta Maria, the Queen Dowager, who forwarded the letters respectively to her son and nephew. Hostilities were to cease between England and France, the former was to abstain from assisting Spain for a year, and the latter was to restore her conquests in the West Indies.

While the two Kings were thus secretly plotting, the French Ambassador at the Hague was instructed to urge upon the Dutch Government the acceptance of negotiations for peace with England, and it was arranged that a Congress should be held at Breda to discuss the terms. An armistice pending the settlement was proposed by England, but declined by the Dutch, for De Witt knew that his fleet was fully equipped for sea, and that England had none to oppose it; he determined not to throw away the opportunity which fortune had placed in his hands

(1) Pepys, ii. 451.

(2) James II., i. 425.

of retaliating the injuries lately inflicted upon his country. His thirst for vengeance must have been great indeed when he planned a scheme of deep and insidious aggression on the eve of negotiations for peace.

Measures of
Defence.

During the progress of hostilities, the possibility of invasion, and the consequent expediency of erecting works to arrest the advance of the enemy up the Thames and Medway, and of fortifying some of the outports, had been under consideration. The King and Duke had visited Sheerness as early as the 27th Feb., 1667, when the site for a fort was marked out; and it is remarkable that, on the 6th March, the Duke of York expressed his expectation of the enemy blocking up the river, and directed that all the ships should be sent away to a place of safety.⁽¹⁾ On March 23 Sir William Penn, Comptroller of the Navy, was called up from Chatham to consult on "the means of fortifying the Medway, by a chain at the stakes, and by ships laid there with guns to prevent the enemy from coming up to burn the ships." So that some intimation or suspicion must have reached the Government as to the possible designs of the Dutch. The works were to be executed by two eminent engineers, Sir Godfrey Lloyd and Sir Bernard de Gomme (or, as Pepys not inappropriately miscalls him, De Gunn)⁽²⁾; but on

(¹) Pepys, iii. 79.

(²) Born at Lille in 1620. Served in the campaigns of Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange; afterwards entered the service of Charles I. Under Charles II. and James II., he filled the offices of Chief Engineer, Quartermaster-General, and Surveyor of the Ordnance. Died 1685; buried in the Tower Church. His plans of Portsmouth, Sheerness, &c., and of the Battle of Naseby, are in the B. Mus., *Add. MSS.*, 16,370.

account of the want of funds, and the not-unreasonable hope of peace, these works were suspended.

The Plenipotentiaries met at Breda in May; Dutch Fleet. but whilst matters were under discussion, De Witt sailed from the Texel, in company with De Ruiter, ordering the fleet in detached squadrons to rendezvous at the Nore. On the 7th of June he anchored in the King's Channel, with a fleet consisting of sixty ships of the line, frigates, and smaller vessels, and two fire-ships, carrying 3,168 guns, 12,800 seamen, and 2,195 troops. A feint was made, as though Harwich was to be attacked, and the Earl of Oxford, Lord-Lieutenant of Essex, was sent off to raise the county force; and barges were taken up to make a bridge across the Thames about the Hope, for horses to cross if necessary.⁽¹⁾

London was in a panic; people fleeing lest the enemy might venture up the Thames, even to London; Panic in London. which Evelyn and Burnet agree he might have done with ease.⁽²⁾ Considering that the naval preparations of the Dutch were known, and the object of them anticipated, the Government had ample time to make better arrangements for the defence of the points likely to be assailed; as it was, when the crisis arrived, the resistance that could be offered was most miserably disproportioned to the exigency.

One would expect the Secretary of the Admiralty to be over-done with work at a time of peril so imminent. But he is found contemptibly occupied in

⁽¹⁾ Pepys, iii. 144.

⁽²⁾ *Diary*, ii. 24. *Own Times*, i. 459.

frivolous amusement. Alas! he was but following the example of his Sovereign, who was doing worse. On his return home from a boating excursion to "Barne Elmes" on June 9th, he found "an order come for the getting some fire-ships presently to annoy the Dutch, who are in the King's Channel, and expected up higher."

This was the first step that was taken, and the following is doubtless the "order" referred to, addressed to the Navy Board by Sir William Coventry, dated "*June 9th, ('67), seven at night.*"

"GENTLEMEN,—His Ma. and his R. H. considering the Dutch riding at present in the King's Channell, conceaue that either in their continuance there or coming higher up, the most probable way to annoy them will be by fire-ships, and have commanded me to send to you to desire you to enquire forthwth (wythout delay) what vessells may be had in the River, either of the King's own, or to be bought, w^{ch} may be fitt for that purpose. If you learn of any this night, or in the morning early, you will have opportunity to give his R. H. an account of it to-morrow morning, when you will attend him (by course). . . . I suppose it will not be very important to have them extraordinary sailers, because the use must be chiefly when the enemy is at anchor, but of this y^{rs}elves are better judges than I am, only what is to be done ought to be done wth great speed.

"It may be worth considering whether vessels

may not be hired for the use as well as others, agreeing a value in case of losses, &c.

"I am, &c.,

"W. COVENTRYE.

"I suppose at least six fire-ships will be required."

(*Naval Papers, Tower.*)

And this was all that could be suggested from head-quarters to arrest the progress of this mighty armament, which threatened destruction to the Capital itself. Half-a-dozen fire-ships! there was a miserable niggardliness, too, in the instructions, to inquire what ships may be fit for the purpose, not to have them "extraordinary sailers," so that they might be bought the cheaper. If fire-ships were the only means of annoying the enemy, why were they not prepared before, as the Government was forewarned? Enquiry to be made when the enemy was at the door!

"—— tempore tali,

Legere concilium, quum muros obsidet hostis."

(*Virg., Æn.*).

A further communication was made on the next day: "The Dutch are some of them come aboute the Nore. S^r Edward Spragg guesseth they will come as high as Gravesend. What I wrote last night about fireships will now admitt noe delay; pray fitt what you can possibly, the time will not stay for treating for buying. I think you must take up what is fitt, and pay for them afterward. Pray doe all you can and gett as many as you can."

In consequence of these instructions, Pepys went down to Deptford. "But, Lord!" exclaims the Secretary to the Admiralty, "to see how backwardly things move at this pinch!" And no wonder, for there was rottenness in the Administration from top to bottom. The demoralising example of the King permeated through every branch of the State; public credit was gone; seamen refused to work without pay, and the labourers deserted. The shipwrights at Chatham had one whole year's wages due to them.

Albemarle
sent down.

It was not until noon on Monday, the 10th, when the enemy had actually commenced operations, that Albemarle received the King's commands to take measures for military defence. This appears in a narrative of his proceedings presented to Parliament, when an inquiry into the "Miscarriages of the late War" was referred to a Committee, and will be found printed in the *Journals*, 31st October, 1667.⁽¹⁾ He accordingly left the Tower at four o'clock that afternoon, and reached Gravesend in the evening; the Commissioners of the Ordnance being directed to dispatch a train of artillery to follow him. The next day he inspected the fort there, which had but a few guns; and Tilbury, which had not above two mounted; and having urged the respective Governors to make every preparation in their power, he started next morning at four o'clock for Chatham; the Dutch fleet was then

⁽¹⁾ Also in *Harl. MSS.*, 7,170. Rupert's "Narrative" is there as well.

in sight, so he left directions that the train upon its arrival at Gravesend should remain there; for he hoped to find Chatham better provided than he afterwards found it to be. For there he found scarcely twelve men out of the eight hundred, who were (nominally) in the King's pay, in the Dock-yard. Out of thirty boats ordered to be provided, only five or six remained; there was no ammunition but what was on board the *Monmouth*, whereupon he sent to Gravesend for the train; there were no works provided for the defence of the chain across the Medway, although Pett's (Commissioner for the Navy) opinion was that "y^e whole stresse of y^e businesse will be at y^e chain a little below Gillingham." He therefore set soldiers at work—the only labour available—and they were obliged to break open the stores to procure tools for erection of batteries at either end of the chain. He then directed his attention to strengthening Upnor Castle, which he "took to be a place very fit to hinder the enemy from coming forwards, if they should force the chain," and thither he sent Captain Wintour with his company.⁽¹⁾ For the Guards were marched out of London, and had arrived at Chatham contemporaneously with the General, the defence of London being entrusted to the Militia; and the sensitive Pepys thought the aspect of affairs very serious "from the beating up of drums this night, for the Train-bands upon pain of death to appear in arms to-morrow morning with

(1) There is a Captain Robert Winter mentioned in the list of officers of Albemarle's regiment in 1660. (Mackinnon, i. 97.)

bullet and powder, and money to supply themselves with victuals for a fortnight."

Vessels sunk.

Albemarle, considering Upnor Castle an important position, further reinforced it with Sir Edward Scott's company of Guards.⁽¹⁾ He also posted a body of horse close by, to be ready in case the enemy should land. His chief solicitude was the closing of the water passage against the enemy. Taking counsel with Pett on the subject, he was informed that it was the opinion of practical men that if three ships were sunk at the narrow passage by the Muscle Bank, the Dutch fleet could not come up. So this was done. Afterwards they required two more, which were added. But Sir Edward Spragge having taken a boat and sounded, he reported that there was still a deep channel remaining, and Albemarle resolved to sink some ships within the chain. About noon, before the batteries were completed, the enemy's ships came down to where the vessels were sunk outside the chain. Albemarle went on board the *Monmouth* with fifty volunteers, and appointed soldiers for the other ships. But the enemy being hampered by the sunken vessels, were forced to retire before they had time to clear the way and explore the passage, as the tide was spent. Thus time was afforded for making further preparations. Two ships were ordered to lie within the chain, ready to be sunk if required, and one ship more being required for

⁽¹⁾ Arthur Broughton, Esquire, to be Lieutenant to Major Scott, in the Company of Foot Guards under the command of Colonel Russell. Feb. 12th, 1666-7. (*Entry Bk. Mil.*, 1664 to 1670, P.R.O.)

sinking in the middle between these two, the General ordered the *Sancta Maria*,⁽¹⁾ a great Dutch prize, to be brought up for that purpose; and so important did he consider this, that he charged Pett and the Master-Attendant, on peril of their lives, to do it by morning. Albemarle says that Pett had received orders from the Duke of York as early as the 26th of March to remove the *Royal Charles* above the dock, that is, beyond the dockyard, but that he had neglected them. He came now to say that he could carry her up with that tide, if he had the boats. But Albemarle could not then spare them, as they were employed in carrying material, ammunition and men for the batteries. He afterwards ordered her removal at the next tide, but this was not done, and there she remained until the enemy took her. The next morning, at break of day, he went to look after the *Sancta Maria*, and found men towing her up to her position, but by some mishap she was run aground, and could not be got off,⁽²⁾ whereat the General was

(1) "In the lists of ships in the Medway, lying in ordinary is the "*Sancta Maria* 50 guns." (Cruden, 351.)

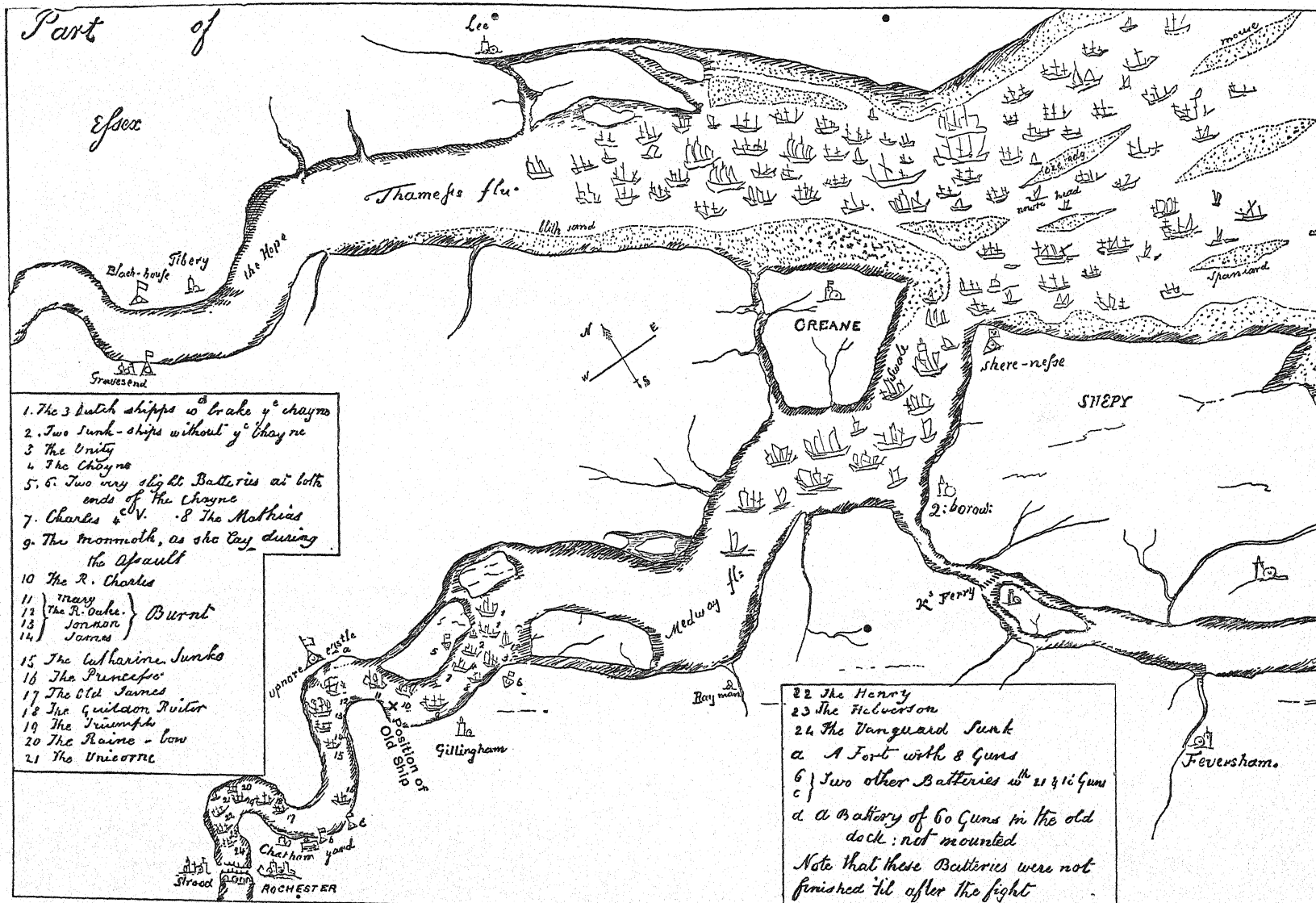
(2) During the excavations necessitated by the extension works of Chatham Dockyard, in 1876, the remains of a lower part of a man-of-war were discovered embedded under 13 feet of silted mud. Her timbers were of massive oak in perfect preservation; powerful knees springing from each side, supported the lower deck, doubtless to enable it to bear the weight of heavy ordnance. Her width is 30ft. 8in., and from the bows to where the main-mast stood, probably the half of her length, is 52ft. 6in. The stern has disappeared, apparently by the action of fire. It appears as if it had been intended to sink her, as many casks, filled with cannon balls and other weighty substances, were on board; five guns were lying loosely along the bottom, whilst 21 more (weighing from 36 to 39 cwt. each) were found in the mud around her, some lying erect with muzzles upwards, others lying flat, giving the idea that they had been canted over in an attempt to lighten or raise her. Many

greatly troubled, for he firmly believed that had she been sunk in the place assigned to her, the Dutchmen could not have passed through, for while they were attempting to remove the obstructions, the guard-ships and the batteries would have assailed them; and there was a force of 6,000 men concentrated about Chatham.

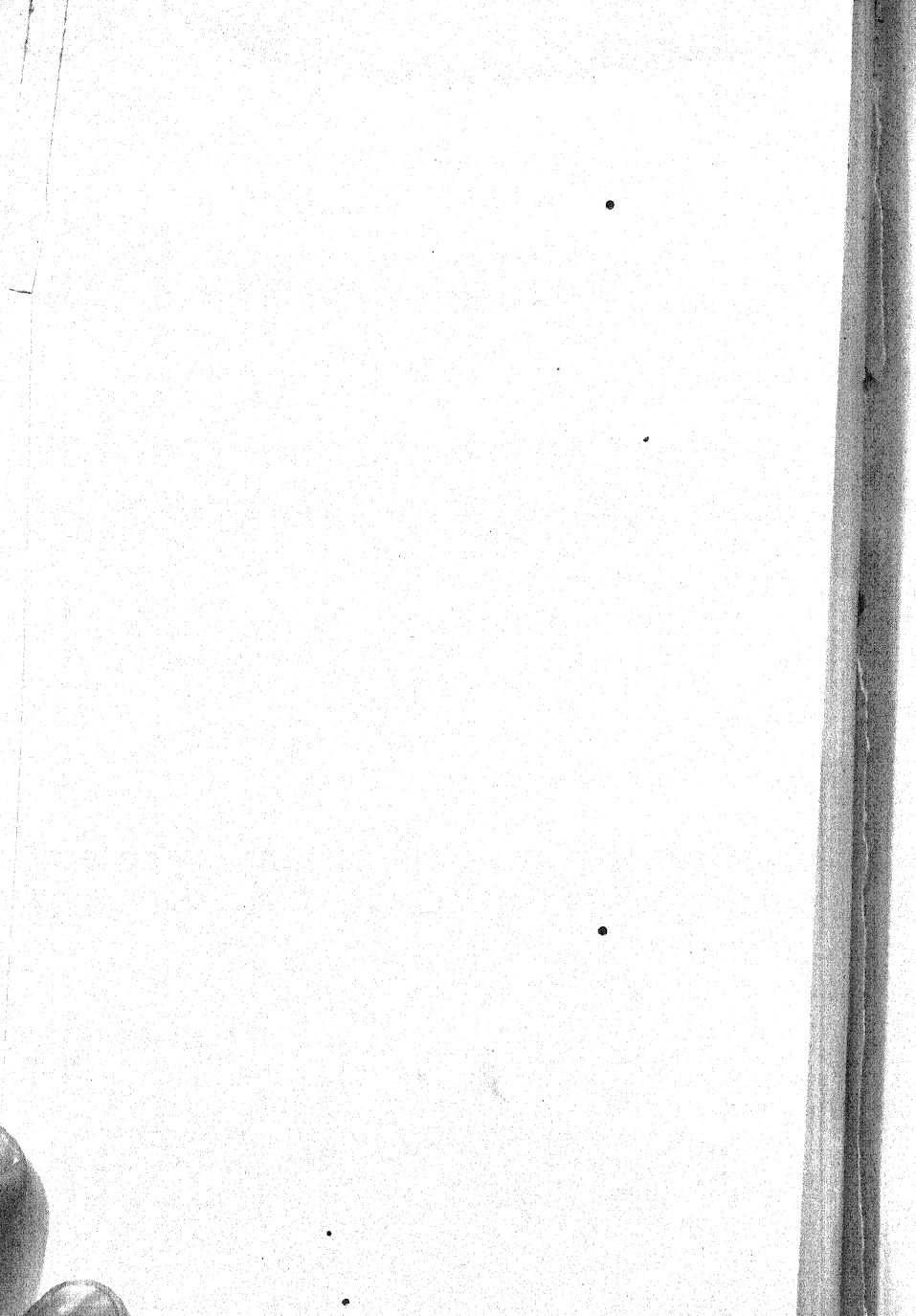
The Dutch in
the Medway.

About ten o'clock on Wednesday morning (12th of June) a division of the enemy's fleet, under the command of Admiral Van Gent, again came down, accompanied by some fire-ships. Captain Jan Van Braakel volunteered to lead the attack. He advanced in the *Vreede* of forty guns, with a favourable tide and wind, without firing a gun, until he was in pistol-shot of the *Unity*, a ship that had retired from Sheerness on Monday, and which was placed as near the chain as she could be got to obstruct the passage; where also the *Matthias* and the *Charles V.*, with the *Monmouth* between them, were placed. Van Braakel

interesting relics were found in her, among them drum-staves and a trumpet, showing that she was a man-of-war, bronze weights, soles of broad-toed shoes, and a set of delicate surgical instruments, which would tend to prove that she had been abandoned in a hurry. Some ware and metal-headed bottles, and her flat bottom would induce the supposition that she was Dutch, while the only coin that was discovered was a token of a cheesemonger, of Shadwell Dock, dated apparently 1632. That she played a part in this conflict there can be little doubt, but in what capacity it is impossible to decide. She might have been the *Sancta Maria*, but Mr. Bernays, the distinguished engineer of the works, is of opinion that she is the *Matthias*. In an original paper preserved in the Bodleian, giving an account of the ships after the attack, it is stated: "Wednesday, 12th June, 'Matthias,' guard shippe, burnt by the enemy, and most of the men lost." "'Sancta Maria' burnt by the enemy." On reference to the map, copied from the original in Peppys' *Diary*, it will be seen that the *Matthias* was stationed at some distance from where the old ship lay embedded.



Plan of the Position of the Dutch Fleet in the Thames.



was exposed to a brisk fire from these ships and from the batteries on shore, but he advanced to the *Unity*, firing his forecastle guns, boarded her, and carried her with the loss of three men.⁽¹⁾

One of the fire-ships struck upon the chain, and was stopped by it; but another coming up, the weight of the two broke it, and the Dutch ships passed through the very passage where the *Sancta Maria* ought to have been sunk. A vigorous fire was kept up from the batteries, which was returned with so much effect by the enemy that the troops were withdrawn. Seeing the *Matthias* in flames, the forts abandoned, and the force of the enemy increasing, the crew of the *Royal Charles* left her, and she was taken possession of by Dutch boats without resistance. The enemy could not effect more than that, as the tide had already begun to ebb; so they retired, carrying the *Royal Charles* along with them.

“He finds, where'er he succour might expect,
Confusion, folly, treachery, fear, neglect;
Eut when the *Royal Charles* (what rage! what grief !)
He saw seized, and could give her no relief,
That sacred keel that had, as he, restor'd
Its exil'd sovereign on its happy board.”

(Marvell, *Instructions to a Painter*.)

The next day the attack was renewed. The Dutch frigates were ordered not to advance higher than Upnor Castle, because of the shoals and of the winding reaches. Albemarle had sent another company in to Upnor Castle, and had planted fifty guns along

⁽¹⁾ This account is taken from Cruden's valuable *History of Gravesend*, p. 353.

the banks, in addition to those that had come with the train. At 2 p.m. the frigates came opposite to Upnor Castle, and opened fire, which was briskly returned by the Castle, as well as by the batteries. The Dutch did not attempt to land, but their fire-ships went on, and set fire to three of the largest men-of-war. With this exploit the enemy retired, and did not appear again in the Medway. Albemarle having in the morning received the King's commands to return to London, left in the evening, having appointed the Earls of Carlisle and Middleton to command in his absence.

the Thames.

Previous to these events in the Medway, a division of the Dutch fleet, under Van Gent, had been appointed to proceed up the Thames, in order to capture or destroy the men-of-war and merchantmen which were reported to be lying at anchor in the Lower Hope, near Gravesend. At 4 p.m. on Sunday, the 9th, the division got under weigh; but as the wind fell off, it had to anchor for the night. On the next day the Admiral, finding that the shipping had been removed above Gravesend, relinquished the attempt, and returned to the Nore. Thus Gravesend was spared the horrors of an attack, which, by most culpable negligence, it was quite incapable of resisting; though the place was, or ought to have been, one of the defences of the metropolis. ⁽¹⁾

Van Gent, on his return, detached three ships of his division to attack the fort at Sheerness. This

⁽¹⁾ See letter of Sir John Mennes, 16th June, 1667. (*Naval Papers in Tower*, quoted in Cruden, 347.)

important position, which commands the entrance to the Medway, was bombarded for an hour and a half, under cover of which fire 800 men were landed, and the garrison retired before the enemy had reached the fort. It appears that Sir Edward Spragge applied to Lord Middleton for the assistance of Lord Douglas's Regiment, which was thereupon embarked before midnight. For some reasons, however, it was countermanded, and only one company of the regiment, which had marched from Sittingbourne, reached Sheerness. (The rest of the regiment was probably at Rochester or Chatham, as Pepys mentions having seen Lord Douglas there.) In the afternoon of Monday, the 10th, a company of Train-bands, under Major Hugheson, arrived to reinforce the garrison. The attack on the fort commenced at about five o'clock in the afternoon, and one man being killed and another wounded, and seven of the guns being dismounted, and the enemies' numbers continuing to increase, the garrison evacuated the position.⁽¹⁾ The *London Gazette* (June 10th—13th) briefly announces the fact.

The Committee of the Commons reported more severely on it: "That the firing of His Majesty's

(1) Report of Mr. Gregory (Clerk of the Cheque at Chatham Dock-yard), who accompanied Spragge (Bodl. Lib.).—"It is said that the country soldiers did first run at Sheerenesse, but that my Lord Douglas's men did run also" (Pepys, 30th June, 1667). This was probably not a company of Douglas's Scotch Regiment, the men of which were not given "to run," but a new regiment raised on the emergency.—"Commission for Geo. Lord Douglas to be Col. of a Regt. of Foot raised, or to be raised, for H.M.'s service, consisting of 12 Comps. of 100 men each." Dated July, 1666. (P.R.O. *Entry Bk. Mil.*, 1666 to 1670.)

ships in the River Medway, to the great dishonour of the nation, was chiefly occasioned by the neglect of finishing the fort at Sheerness.”⁽¹⁾

The Militia of the counties adjacent to these events was ordered to be in readiness to march at the shortest notice, and commissions were issued to the following officers on June 13th, to raise each a Regiment of Foot of 1,000 men :—“ The Earle of Chesterfelde, Lord Townsende, Lord Alington, Earle of Ogle, Marquess of Worcester, Lord Chamberlain, Sir Arthur Basset, Sir Allen Apsley, Sir Walter Vane, Coll. Norton, Coll. Lane.”⁽²⁾

When the danger was passed, the defences were prepared. On June 30th Pepys went down to Chatham “to see the batteries made, which are very fine, and guns placed so as one would think the River should be very secure ;” and on July 24th a Royal Warrant was issued, “To make an Establishment of Our Castle at Upnor, and henceforth to entertain and keep the same as a Fort and place of strength.”

De Ruiter remained at the entrance to the Thames, and having received orders to advance to Gravesend or higher up, if he should find it expedient, a division of fourteen ships of the least draught, and two fire-ships, got under weigh on the 27th of June, and proceeded to the Hope, where it anchored. The Admiral-in-Chief followed with the main fleet, but finding no English ships there, and seeing from the mast-heads that few were lying at

⁽¹⁾ *Coms. Journs.*, 13th Feb., 1667-8.

⁽²⁾ *P.R.O. Entry Bk. Mil.*, 20, p. 162.

Gravesend, and having received information that most formidable means of defence had been provided in the river, thought that the objects to be gained were not commensurate with the danger. He therefore returned to the Nore. De Ruiter withdrew from that station, and visited Portsmouth,⁽¹⁾ Plymouth, and Torbay without any successful results. But under the influence of the same hostile disposition, and with a view to obtain a peace upon terms more advantageous, the Dutch fleet was directed to harass the country with continual alarms; so it again entered the Thames, and sailed as high as the Hope. The English frigates opened a heavy cannonade upon the enemy, but the action was chiefly one of fire-ships, without any great result. The Dutch fleet returned next day to its own coasts; the Treaty of Peace having been signed at Breda on the 21st of July.

Never was England so humiliated; truly the Dutchman had his revenge! This exhibition of helplessness was part of the glories of the Stuart Restoration. We can only be thankful that this country was spared the infliction of deeper outrages. Her independence was saved, as it has been so often, when home defences were inadequate to the occasion. What might have been the consequence, if it had been the policy of France at the moment to join in the attack? But while Charles was hunting moths at Lady Castlemaine's,⁽²⁾ and the English fleet was

Humiliation

⁽¹⁾ Col. Sidney's Holland Regiment was ordered to Portsmouth on the 15th June. Three companies of foot were ordered to be raised there, and three more from the workmen of the Yards. (*Ibid.*)

⁽²⁾ Pepys, 22nd June, 1667, iii. 164.

burning, Louis was in Flanders with a great army commanded by Turenne, prosecuting the campaign with vigour. In three months the French flag waved over nearly all the important Spanish towns of Flanders and Brabant. The siege of Lisle was now in progress, and the Council-General of the United Provinces thought fit to withdraw its objections to the proposals of England, in order to take measures to secure the country against the ambition of its powerful ally.

Treaty ratified.

The ratification of the Treaty was made known in London on the 24th of July, "agreeable," says Gumble, "to the honour of His Majesty and for the interests of his subjects."⁽¹⁾ There was nothing in the conditions to mortify the pride of the nation; but the disgrace of Chatham rankled in the public mind; and when the peace was proclaimed, no bonfires blazed on high as evidences of popular joy, "partly," says Pepys, "from the dearness of firing, but principally from the little content most people have in the Peace."

Parliament met on the 25th of July, evidently inspired with an exaggerated horror of military domination. A member expressed the feeling of the House when he said "that all the country is grieved at this new-raised standing army; and that they thought themselves safe enough in their trayn-bands." It was resolved *nem. con.* "that His Majesty be humbly desired that when a peace is concluded the newly-raised forces be disbanded."⁽²⁾ On the 29th Charles

(1) *Life of General Monck*, 450.

(2) *Commons' Journals*, July 25th, 1667.

informed the Parliament that the peace was concluded ; that he did not intend to govern by a standing army ; and that he was surprised that they did not think him more of an Englishman than to do so. That he had raised additional forces for an emergency, and that they would be disbanded as soon as circumstances would admit, and that the persons now in commission were such as would be as desirous to be out of employment as to continue in it. The Parliament was then prorogued.

The Earl of Mulgrave held one of these new commissions, but he regretted having to resign it. He says: "The design of the Dutch upon our coasts occasioned the raising of several independent troops of horse, of which I had one given me, and was so foolishly fond of it (being my first military command) that I endured my quarters at Dover as contentedly, and was as sorry for being disbanded upon the peace, as if I had been a meer soldier of fortune."⁽¹⁾

Scotland for some time had been in a very disturbed state. The old covenanting spirit was aroused by the imposition of episcopacy. The Scotch Parliament had passed laws to put down conventicles, and to enforce attendance at the parish churches ; but the civil power was unable to enforce compliance. Sir James Turner was ordered, with a small body of troops of the army of Scotland, to levy fines, to quarter soldiers upon recusants, and to secure obedience to the law. The service was no doubt an unpopular one, but he avers as "ane undoubted truth, that he

The Cove-
nanters.

(¹) *Works of John Sheffield, D.* of Buckinghamshire.

was so far from exceeding his instructions that he never came the full length of them.”⁽¹⁾ All his men, save a dozen or so, on one occasion, being quartered “on deficiencies,” he was surrounded and made prisoner (November, 1666). Elated with their success, the Rebels decided to march upon Edinburgh, although their number in the field never exceeded eleven hundred. They carried their prisoner about with them for three weeks, during which time he was subjected to much ill-treatment. At length troops under Sir Thomas Dalzell came up with them, and a conflict took place at Rullion Green, near the Pentland Hills (28th of November, 1666), when fifty of the Covenanters were killed, and one hundred and thirty made prisoners, many of whom were afterwards executed. They had probably been encouraged by promises of assistance from Holland. The King ordered a stringent enquiry as to the origin of the insurrection, and being convinced that persecution had goaded them to resistance, an order was issued that “the Whigs”⁽²⁾ should be treated with less severity.

(1) *Memoirs of his Own Life and Times*, p. 144.—Bishop Burnet held an unfavourable opinion of him: “Sir James Turner that commanded them was naturally fierce, but was mad when he was drunk, and that was very often.” (*Own Times*, i. 384.)

(2) The word appears to have been originally Whigamore (*Note to Scott's Dryden*, vol. ix., p. 208, ed. 1821), denoting a low class of poor people, hence applied in contempt to the Covenanters. Kirkton (*History of the Church of Scotland*), under the year 1667, says: “The poor people who were in contempt called Whiggs became name-fathers to all that owned an honest interest in Britain, who were called Whiggs after them, even at the Court of England: so strangely doth Providence improve man's mistakes for the furthering the Lord's purpose” (p. 256).

In England, the Parliament met on the 10th of October, 1667, and on the 15th the Lords and Commons carried up an Address to the King, thanking him for having disbanded the lately-raised forces, and for having dismissed the Papists from his guards and military employments, and more especially for having been pleased to displace the late Chancellor.

At the commencement of the year 1668, in consequence of the peaceful aspect of things, and in consideration of the King's financial perplexities, reductions were made in the numbers of the standing forces. The *London Gazette* of September 16th gives the official introduction of one who played a conspicuous, and a not-undistinguished, part in the field of arms:—"This morning, his Majesty, accompanied by his Royal Highness (*the Duke of York*), was pleased to take a view of his regiments of Foot Guards, and his Life Guard of Horse, at their rendezvous in Hyde Park; when he placed his Grace the Duke of Monmouth⁽¹⁾ in the command as Captain of his Life Guard of Horse, vacated by the resignation of Charles Lord Gerard, Baron of Brandon." Pepys states (iii. 250) that the King gave Gerard £12,000 for his resignation.

Duke of Monmouth.

In the subsequent year we obtain a notice of the Royal Troops in the Book of Travels of Cosmo of

(1) The son of Lucy Walters, daughter of Richard Walters, of Haverfordwest. She assumed the name of Barlow, and lived with Colonel Robert Sidney. She subsequently succeeded in captivating the youthful and exiled Charles at the Hague, and gave birth to this son, James, at Rotterdam in 1649.

Tuscany, before mentioned; and it is interesting to read an account of them from an eye-witness and a foreigner. Travelling in England in those days was not without its difficulties and dangers. His Highness was conveyed from Dorchester by a great many horse soldiers belonging to the Militia of the county, to secure him from robbers. Four miles from Basingstoke, a detachment of fifty-four troopers of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, commanded by Lord Oxford's lieutenant, awaited him by the King's orders. Cosmo alighted to inspect them; the officers wore a red sash with gold tassels. "This Regiment," he writes, "is composed of eight companies of seventy men each; they receive from the King half a ducat a day; this is paid every two months, which, being of twenty-eight days each, they have seven payments annually. In each of these companies the Colonel has the privilege of keeping two places vacant, and of appropriating the emolument to himself, which amounts to more than fourteen pounds sterling every week."

On the 21st of May the King held a review in Hyde Park in his honour. Cosmo rode thither, and shortly afterwards the King, the Duke of York, and Prince Robert (*Rupert*), with a grand suite, came upon the ground. After an inspection of the lines, the troops marched past in files, the King with his staff retiring to the shade of the trees to protect himself from the sun, and to observe the movements without interruption. The whole force consisted of two regiments of infantry,

one of cavalry, and three troops of the body-guard, composed of six hundred horsemen, each armed with carbines and pistols.

“The First or King’s Own Regiment of infantry (*1st Guards*) having a white flag with a red cross in the middle, commanded by Colonel Russell, was composed of twelve companies of eighty men each, all dressed in red coats turned up with light blue (which was the colour of the royal livery), except the pikemen, who were distinguished from the others by wearing a coat of a silver colour, turned up with light blue.

“The second regiment (*Coldstream*), that of General George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, whose standard was green, with six white balls and a red cross, commanded by Colonel Miller,⁽¹⁾ was composed of fourteen companies, also of eighty men, who wore red jackets with green facings, the pikemen being in green faced with red.

“The third regiment, that of the Earl of Oxford (*Royal Horse Guards*), was formed of seven companies of sixty men each.

“The first of the three companies of body guards (*King’s troop of Life Guards*), called the King’s Company, composed of gentlemen and half-pay officers, dressed in red jackets faced with blue, and

(1) A captain in Monk’s regiment, and his Adjutant-General when the regiment entered England, and Serjeant-Major of the regiment after the Restoration. A grant of arms to this “Serjt-Major John Miller, born at Balicussan, in y^e parish and county of Ardmagh, in Ireland, sonne to Robert Miller, of y^e County of Huntington,” dated 27th May, 1672, is preserved in the *Harl. MSS.*, No. 1,172, fol. 75.

richly ornamented with gold lace, and wearing white feathers in their hats, was commanded by the Duke of Monmouth.

"The second, called the Duke's (*of York*), commanded by the Marquis of Blandford,⁽¹⁾ nephew of Marshal Turenne, wore red jackets with blue facings, without gold, and white feathers in their hats.

"The third, that of the General (*Albemarle*), whose place was supplied by Sir Philip Howard, of the family of the Earls of Carlisle, wore a dress similar to that of the Duke's, and instead of feathers, a ribbon of a crimson colour. Each of these companies has its lieutenants, who are Sir Thomas Sandys, Sir Gilbert Gerard (*two for the King's troop*), Major-General Egerton, and Sir George Hamilton.⁽²⁾

"They marched by in files, in sight of his Majesty and their Highnesses. The vanguard consisted of the company of the Duke of Monmouth,

(1) Louis de Duras, Marquis de Blanquefort in France (not Blandford). The family was a Protestant one, in which faith he always continued, though his brothers, two French Marshals, were converted to that of Rome. Fought and was wounded in the campaign of 1658, under Turenne, in Flanders, against the Spaniards and English Royalists. Came over to England after the Restoration, and was naturalised 17th Car. II. Appointed Captain and Colonel of the Duke of York's troop of Life-Guards, June 29th, 1667. Created Lord Duras, of Holdenby, in Northamptonshire, in 1672. In 1677 succeeded George Sondes, Earl of Feversham, in that title, whose eldest son being murdered by the younger one, who was hanged in consequence, the succession devolved upon the eldest daughter, married to Duras. He died *s.p.* in 1709. Burnet says of him: "He was an honest, brave, and good-natured man, but weak to a degree not easy to be conceived."

(2) Fourth son of the first Earl of Abercorn; married Frances, the "Beautiful Jennings" of Grammont's *Memoirs*, who, at his death, remarried with the Duke of Tyrconnel. She was sister of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough.

who marched at its head, in full dress. This was followed by the General's company, and a troop of the Earl of Oxford's regiment. The infantry regiment of the King came next, with six pieces of cannon," &c. The troops marched past without firing, and the King, dismounting, entered his carriage, and returned to Whitehall.

"The King of England, besides those called his body-guards, has many guards in the palace for the security of his person, both horse and foot. They are employed to mount guard at the gates of the palace, both on the side of St. James's Park and that of Whitehall Place, and to escort his Majesty whenever he goes out on horseback or in his carriage through the city. In the hall called the guard-room is the guard of the Manica or sleeve⁽¹⁾ (*Yeomen of the Guard*), consisting of two hundred and fifty very handsome men, the tallest and strongest that can be found in England; they are called in jest Beef-eaters, that is, eaters of beef,⁽²⁾ of which a considerable portion is allowed them every day. These carry a halberd when they are in London, and a half-pike in the country, with a broadsword by their sides, and before the King had any other body-guard they escorted his carriage. They are dressed in a livery of red cloth, made according to the ancient fashion, and faced with black velvet; they wear on their back the King's

(1) In the Household of the Kings of France there was a body of 24 selected men called "*Gardes de la Manche*" (*Mil. Fran.*, ii. 126), which is explained as being "*Ceux des Gardes du corps qui en certaines occasions étoient aux deux côtés du roi.*"—*Dict. de l'Academie*.

(2) Another proof that Beef-eater is not a corruption of Buffetier.

cypher in embroidery, and on their breast the white and red rose. . . . The duty of these guards is, among^g other things, when the King eats in public (which he does three times a week), to fetch the meat from the kitchen and carry it to the table, where it is taken from them and placed before his Majesty by the gentlemen in attendance. The captain of the guard is my Lord Grandison, and the lieutenant Thomas Howard.

“The King has another guard, formed of fifty gentlemen called pensioners, the greater part persons of birth and quality, who carry a sort of pole-axe, in the form of a halberd, ornamented with gold, and are under the orders of a captain, who is my Lord Bellasyse,⁽¹⁾ and a lieutenant, Sir John Bennet.

“The regiment of infantry nearest the city supplies the guards, who are changed every day at the palaces of Whitehall and St. James, and at the Tower of London. That of the Duke of York, which is called the Regiment of Marines, is generally quartered at the sea-ports, and in case of war is the first to embark on board the fleet, over which the Lord High-Admiral presides. This is considered the first office in the Kingdom, and is therefore held by the Duke of York.”⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ John Lord Bellasis, second son of Thomas, Viscount Fauconberg. A distinguished royalist officer in the Civil War; afterwards Governor of Tangier. As he was a Roman Catholic, the Test Act deprived him of all his appointments in 1672, but James II. made him first Commissioner of the Treasury. *Ob.*, 1689. Buried at St. Giles-in-the-Fields.

⁽²⁾ p. 310. It is curious to note that a thick atmosphere, then as now, was prevalent in the metropolis, and the Grand Duke attributes the cause, “not to corrupt vapours, but from the smoke of the mineral coal from Scotland” (p. 399).

On January 3rd, 1670, died George Monck, Duke of Albemarle, at the age of sixty-two; one of the best-abused of men, and yet one who, whatever might be his motives, wrought for his country services never to be forgotten. Endued with undoubted courage, moral and physical, he lacked the loftier ambition which constitutes a great man. With the faculty of engaging the affections of those under his command—a popularity admitted by his detractors—he neglected vast opportunities of adding lustre to his name, and of being enrolled among his country's benefactors. He married a woman of low degree, by whom he had one son, Christopher, afterwards Lord-Lieutenant of Devonshire, and captain of the King's troop of Life Guards. He died in 1688 at Jamaica, of which he was Governor, and the title became extinct.

Character of
Monck.

The King came several times to see the General in his last illness,⁽¹⁾ and on his death directed that the funeral should be conducted with honour befitting the memory of one to whom he owed his crown; and that the interment should take place in Westminster Abbey. Albemarle died at the Cockpit,⁽²⁾ but his body was brought to Somerset House, where it lay in state until the 30th April. No time was lost in disposing of his regiment and troop of Life Guards; for with a haste which would now be considered indecent the following entry appears on the very day of his death:—

⁽¹⁾ Gumble, 462.

⁽²⁾ The Cockpit stood on the site of the present Treasury. Oliver Cromwell resided there for a time. His letter to his wife after the Battle of Dunbar is dated from the Cockpit. It was assigned to Monck as a residence by the Parliament shortly before the Restoration.

Earl of Craven.

“Commission to William, Earl of Craven,⁽¹⁾ to be Colonel of the Regiment of Our Guards, late under the command of Our Right Trusty, &c., George, Duke of Albemarle, Our General of Our Forces now deceased, by the name and title of the Regiment of Coldstreamers.⁽²⁾ Jan. 3rd, 1669–70.” (P. R. O. *Entry Book, Mil.*, 1664 to 1670, p. 205.)

His troop of Life Guards was made “The Queen’s,” thus promoting it from being the third to be the second troop, and giving it precedence over the Duke of York’s.

The Duke of York states in his Memoirs (i. 446) that he waited on the King, at the time that Albemarle’s recovery was pronounced hopeless, to advise him not to appoint another general in his room. That it was a position of too great power to be entrusted to any one, not even excepting himself. That the army being so small at present, it was unnecessary to have a general in peace; and that in case of war his Majesty could make such general officers as he might think proper for the occasion, but he hoped that if he

(1) Eldest son of Sir W. Craven, Lord Mayor. Created Earl in 1664. A man of chivalrous gallantry, well known as the devoted admirer of the unfortunate Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, to whom he is supposed to have been married. Served during the Thirty Years’ War under Gustavus, and also in the Netherlands under Henry, Prince of Orange. At the Revolution he lost his appointments. Died in 1697, at the age of eighty.

(2) On the 19th August, 1670, a warrant was issued granting to the Earl of Craven one private soldier’s pay out of each of the twelve companies of his regiment. The twelve men were to be disbanded, and twelve names given in the warrant, to which the pay of the disbanded men was to be credited to the colonel, and notice was to be given to the Commissaries-General of the Musters that they were to pass the said twelve names on the muster-rolls. (Mackinnon, ii. 259)

did think of appointing one, it would be none other than himself. So the King resolved not to appoint a general in the place of Albemarle. The Duke of York was probably influenced by feelings of jealousy lest his brother should appoint his favourite son Monmouth to that dignity.

The following order was issued 28th April, 1670 :—

“It being his Majesty's pleasure that his Funeral Order.
three troops of Horse Guards, that part of his Majesty's own regiment of Foot Guards under Colonel John Russell's command, who are quartered about London and Westminster,⁽¹⁾ and the regiment of Foot Guards under the command of the Right Honourable William, Earl of Craven (whereof his Grace, George, Duke of Albemarle, General of his Majesty's forces, deceased, was lately colonel), shall attend and proceed in the funeral solemnities of his Grace, the said Lieut.-General, deceased, from Somerset House to the Cathedral or Collegiate Church in Westminster, on Saturday next, being the 30th of this instant April. His Majesty hath appointed and given orders for the same as followeth ; that is to say, that the said three troops of Horse Guards rendezvous in the street before St. Dunstan's Church in the West (facing westward) on the said 30th of April, by nine of the clock in the forenoon, in the order following, that is to say :—

(1) The remaining ten companies, by which the regiment had been augmented from the Dunkirk regiment of Guards, were dispersed in quarters about the country, as will be seen subsequently.

“His Royal Highness the Duke of York’s troop of Horse Guards, under the command of the Marquis Blaquelfort, to be in the van ; his Majesty’s own troop of Horse Guards, under the command of his Grace the Duke of Monmouth, to come next after them—in which order they are to march before the said funeral solemnities. And her Majesty’s the Queen’s troop of Horse Guards, which was the late Lord General’s troop, are (when the said after troops of Guards march before the said funeral solemnities) to expect in the Strand, eastward of Somerset House, to take proceeding of all the said funeral solemnities westward on the way to the said Abbey Church ; and then they are to march in the rear of the whole train of the said Abbey Church. That the fourteen companies of his Majesty’s regiment of Foot Guards about town shall rendezvous in Covent Garden ; and the said Earl of Craven’s regiment of his Majesty’s Foot Guards shall rendezvous in Lincoln’s Inn Fields by nine of the clock in the forenoon, from which places of their rendezvous the said Foot Guards are to march into the Strand before Exeter House,⁽¹⁾ to expect till two of the said troops pass by, and then the said Foot Guards are to march in the rear of the said fourteen companies next to his

(1) It stood on the site of Burleigh Street and Exeter Street, and was so called after Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter, son of the great Lord Burleigh. The present Marquis of Exeter still possesses the property of the founder of this family in the Strand and its neighbourhood, Cecil Street, &c.

Majesty's said troop of Horse Guards aforesaid; and the said late Lord General's, and now the Earl of Craven's, regiment of his Majesty's Foot Guards to come next after the said fourteen companies, so to be nearest (of the said Guards) before the chariot and effigies, and attend till the same funeral solemnities are entered into the church. And the said whole train is to be closed by her Majesty's said troop of Guards (which was the said late Lord General's troop) as aforesaid."

The *London Gazette* (No. 465) contains the following announcement:—"London, April 30th, 1670. This day, about two in the afternoon, the solemn funeral of George, late Duke of Albemarle, set forward from Somerset House towards the Abbey of Westminster, in this following order:—

"First marched his Roy^l Highnesses troop of Guards, next his Majesties troop, then his Majesties regiment of Foot Guards, and next them the regiment of Coldstreames, as having been the General's own regiment, all of them in excellent funeral order. * * * *

"After which followed several of the heralds, bearing the trophies; then came an open chariot covered with black velvet, and a canopy of the same, in which lay the effigies of the Duke in azure armour, a golden truncheon in his hand, having on his ducal robe and coronet; drawn by six horses, caparison'd with velvet, with escutcheons, chafferons and plumes, the *poêle* was supported by three Barons and the

Treasurer of his Maj^{ties} Household, &c., the whole train closed by the troop of her Majesties Guards.

“At the west door of the Abbey of Westminster the effigies were taken out of the chariot, and under a canopy received by the dean, prebends, and the whole quire in their copes and formalities, and conducted into the quire, betwixt which and the altar was erected a magnificent hearse, wherein the effigies being placed, and the service of the church read, an excellent sermon was preached on the occasion by the Lord Bishop of Salisbury, which ended, they proceeded to offer the several trophies; and to conclude the ceremony the four officers of the deceased Duke broke their white staves at the head of the hearse, and Garter proclaimed the stile of his Grace according to custom; then the trumpets sounding, the regiments and troops which were drawn up near the Abbey gave their several vollies.”

QUARTERS OF THE FORCES, 24th March, 1669–70.

At this period all the troops were quartered at inns and houses of public entertainment. In May, 1670, the quarters of the three troops of Life Guards were as follows:—

His Majesty's Troop.—In the Strand, the back-side of St. Clement's, Drury Lane, Holborn, St. Giles's, Gray's Inn, Long Acre, Covent Garden, St. Martyn's Lane.

Her Majesty's Troop.—In Horseferry, Mill Bank, Peter Street, Stable Yard, Petty France, and St. James Street.

The Duke of York's Troop.—Tuttle Street, King Street, Charing Cross (except the Chequer and Star Inns, reserved for Orderly men), Haymarket, St. James's Market and Piccadilly. (*War Office Records.*)

His Maties three troopes of Guards.

Fourteene companies (part) of his Maties regiment of Foote, under the command of Collonell John Russell.

Twelve companies of Foote, being the regiment commanded by the late Lord Generall, now under the command of the Right Honble William, Earl of Craven.

All quartered in and aboute the citties of London and Westminster.

His Maties regiment of Horse Gds., commanded by the Right Honble Aubrey, Earle of Oxford.	His Maties troope, commanded by the Lord Hawley . . . at Canterbury. Earl of Oxford, Colonell, his troope at Reading. Major Francis Windham's troope . at Salisbury. Sir Edward Brett's troope at Watford and Rickmundsworth; ordered . . . to Hamersmith. Lord Frescheville's troope . at York. Sir ffrancis Compton's troope . at Uxbridge and Colebrooke.		
	Sir Henry Jones' troope, at Sen- } to Highgate and nock and Bromley ordered. } Islington. Sir Thomas Armstrong's troope . at Farnham.		
	Ten companies, being the remains part of his Maties owne regiment of Foote Gds. under the command of Coll. John Russell.	Captaine Wyan's companie . . at Berwick. Captaine Stradling's companie . at Berwick. Captaine Musgrave's companie, at Berwick, ordered . . to Carlisle. Captaine John Walter's companie . at Berwick. Captaine John Strude's companie . at Dover Castle. Captaine Osborn's companie . at Portesmouth. Captaine Eaton's companie . at Tinmouth Castle	
		Captaine Herbert Jeffery's Captaine Skelton's, and } at York. Captaine Sr Philip Moncketon's } Collonell Sr Chas Littleton's } comp's at Har- Captaine Anthony Buller's } wick. Liet ^t Coll. Sr John Griffith's } Captaine Bennett's and } comp's at Hull. Captaine Middleton's }	
		Twelve companies, being the Lord High Admirall's regt of Foote, under Sr Chas Littleton's command.	Major Nathan ^l Dorrell's companie at Land Guard Fort. Captaine Cartwright's companie . at Gravesend. Captaine Bromley's companie . at Plymouth. Captaine Titus' companie . at Deal & Walner. Captaine Vaughan's company . at Chepstow Castle Captaine Herbert's company . at Guernsey. Capt. Sr Bouchier Wrey's com-

Ten companies, being the Hol- land regiment, commanded by Sir Walter Vane.	Collonell Sr Walter Vane's	} comp ^s at Wind-
	Capt. Sr Tho. Woodcock's,	} sor Castle.
	Lt Coll. Sr Tho. Howard's,	} comp ^s at Ply-
	Major Sr Tho. Ogle's, and	
	Capt. Henery Pomeroy's,	} comp ^s at Ber-
	Capt. Sr Herbt Lunsford's,	} wick.
	Captaine Baptist Alcock's	
	Captaine Henry Sidney's companie	at Carlisle.
	Captaine William Cownley's com-	
	pany at Carlisle, ordered . . .	to Berwick.
	Captaine Manley's company . . .	at Jersey.

Here followeth severall guarrison companies not regimented :—

One company at Berwick.

One companie at Carlisle.

One companie at Chester.

One companie at Guernsey.

Three companies at Hull.

Two companies at Jersey.

One companie at Pendennis.

Two companies at Plymouth.

Six companies at Portesmouth.

Two companies at Scilly.

One companie at Isle of Wight.

Governour and thirty soldiers, at Sandon Fort,
in the island.

One companie at Scarborough Castle.

Three companies at Tower of London.

One companie at Timmouth Castle.

A lieutenant and thirty soldiers at Upnor Castle.

One companie at Windsor Castle.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE—DUKE OF YORK'S CONVERSION—SECRET TREATY—OUTRAGES IN LONDON—THE PRINCE OF ORANGE VISITS THE ENGLISH COURT—WAR WITH HOLLAND—MONMOUTH'S REGIMENT—BATTLE OF SOUTHWOLD BAY—ENGLISH REGIMENTS IN FRANCE—MILITARY PRECEDENCE—TEST ACT—SIEGE OF MAESTRICHT—PEACE WITH HOLLAND—BRITISH ARTILLERY—ROYAL ENGINEERS—BATTALION FOR VIRGINIA—GRENADIERS—MONMOUTH'S COMMISSION—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR WITH FRANCE—TROOPS SENT TO FLANDERS—MILITARY EXPENSES—TREATY OF PEACE—BATTLE OF ST. DENIS.

THE rapid conquests of Louis XIV. in Flanders had attracted the attention of Europe. The maritime nations laid aside their old jealousies, and formed a defensive league (Jan. 23rd, 1668) termed the Triple Alliance—England, Holland, and Sweden being the contracting parties. It brought the aggressor to terms; and the result was the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle on May 2nd, by which it was arranged that Spain should resign to France all the towns lately taken by her, and that peace should be restored to the two; for it was considered that the interposition of the Spanish Netherlands was the great bulwark of independence against the encroaching power of France. But with Louis peace meant nothing more than a convenient time for augmenting armies.

The Triple Alliance was highly popular in England. Burnet says, "It was certainly the masterpiece of King Charles's life; and if he had stuck to

it, it would have been both the strength and glory of his reign.”⁽¹⁾

But seeing how close the connexion was between Charles and France, and how little sympathy existed between him and Holland, he was not likely to adhere to it longer than he could help. Accordingly, he soon began to make overtures to Louis, carried on through the Duchess of Orleans. Charles had learnt in the very first year of his reign to receive money from Louis, unknown to his subjects; presuming on the same aid, he offered to abandon the Alliance and join France in making war upon the Dutch, provided he obtained from Louis supplies of money sufficient to render him independent of his Parliament.

Meeting of
Parliament.

Parliament met on Feb. 14th, 1669–70, and the King was attended to the House—apparently for the first time—by his new Guards.⁽²⁾ The King, as usual, asked for money, and the Lord Keeper Bridgeman (who had succeeded Clarendon) was instructed to state “that the loss which the King had sustained in the Customs, Excise, and Hearth-money, by the war, plague, and fire, amounted to £600,000.” So to make himself acceptable to the Commons, he gave his consent to a new Bill for suppressing conventicles, which was strongly opposed by the Duke of York and his party as well as by the Presbyterian Peers, for it subjected all Nonconformists to heavy pains and penalties.

⁽¹⁾ *Own Times*, i. 466.

⁽²⁾ “The first instance we meet with in history of the sovereign’s entering upon the exercise of his legislative powers, under the awe and influence of the sword.” (Ralph, i. 179.)

At the beginning of the year 1669 an incident occurred which, when it became known, created great displeasure and still greater apprehension in the public mind; ultimately producing so great a national disturbance that the Revolution was the result of it, and the legitimate sovereign—the cause of it—was expelled from his dominions. The Duke of York publicly avowed his conversion to the Roman Catholic religion.

Ever since the Restoration the two great sources of dread and abhorrence—never lost sight of, in Parliament or out of it—were Romanism and a Standing Army. It appears that so early as the year after the King's return, the Duke of York was considered "a professed friend to the Catholiques,"⁽¹⁾ so that the announcement did not take his brother by surprise. Charles—if not a sympathiser, as the narrator of Cosmo's Travels shrewdly suspected,⁽²⁾—was not likely to quarrel with any man on matters of conscience. In fact, his hands were now strengthened in the conduct of the plot, in which, till then, he had been unassisted. He repaired to Dover to meet his sister, and there a secret treaty between England and France was signed on May 22nd, 1670.⁽³⁾ The heads of

⁽¹⁾ Pepys, i. 155.

⁽²⁾ p. 456.

⁽³⁾ Within less than three weeks after this meeting, the fair and unfortunate Duchess was numbered among the dead, not without grave imputations on her husband. Her maid of honour, Louise de Penincourt de Quérrouille, was created in 1673 Duchess of Portsmouth by Charles II., and subsequently her son Duke of Richmond. Louis XIV. granted to her for life, and afterwards to one of the natural sons of Charles II., to be named by him, the domain of Aubigné in the province of Berri, which reverted to the Crown at the death of Charles Stuart, sixth Duke of Richmond and Lenox. "*La Dame de Kérouel, Duchesse de Portsmouth*," as she is described in the patent. See "*n. K., Lingard*," vii. 460.

this shameful treaty⁽¹⁾ were that Charles was to receive two millions of *livres tournois* (£200,000) from Louis for declaring himself a Roman Catholic. France was to assist him with six thousand men if his subjects should rebel; and if the King of Spain should die without issue, the possessions of Spain should be divided, England acquiring Minorca, Ostend, and Spanish America, and France the rest. That Holland was to be divided between France and England, and provision to be made for the young Prince of Orange. That war should be declared against the United Provinces by both Kings, but neither should conclude peace or truce with them without the consent of the other. That the King of France should take upon himself the whole charge of the war by land, receiving from England an auxiliary force of 6,000 men. That by sea Charles should furnish fifty, and Louis thirty, men-of-war, and towards the expense of this naval armament the King of England should receive from the King of France £800,000 during the continuance of the war.

The Duke of York (whose religious sincerity cannot be questioned), with the indiscreet zeal of a neophyte, pressed his brother to publish his conversion. Circumstances, he urged, favoured it; the fleet and Portsmouth were in his hands; the regular troops—few though they were—were well affected, and all

(1) Lingard (*n. H.*, vii. 454), says the original of this important treaty is in the possession of Lord Clifford, of Chudleigh, to whom he is indebted for permission to present it for the first time to the public. But it is printed in Dalrymple, i. 96, who says the draft is in the *Depôt des Affaires Étrangères* at Versailles.

the officers, except Colonel Russell, such as would serve the Crown without hesitation; the governors of garrison towns were all of them men in whom the King might confide.⁽¹⁾ Charles, however, was wiser, and evaded the expression of his faith with the most frivolous excuses. But it is impossible to suppress the suspicion that both Kings acted with insincerity. Charles put forward his intended conversion merely as an inducement to Louis to supply him with money; it is even suggested that he endeavoured to obtain money from Spain by the same specious pretext;⁽²⁾ and Louis submitted to the deception that he might draw Charles into a war with the States, and, having succeeded in that, troubled him no farther on the score of religion. Lingard, who was not likely to take an unfavourable view of these matters, and whose leaning would naturally be towards his own church, says that the King "was the most accomplished dissembler in his dominions." Of this there is no greater proof than the artful manner in which he cajoled the Commons out of supplies, which he intended to employ in carrying out the secret treaty. The Lord Keeper made much of the treaty of the Triple Alliance, the popularity of which was undoubted, reminding the House how his Majesty by joining in it had preserved the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and in making a peace between the warring powers, quenching the fire which was ready to have set all Christendom in a blaze. Then he called attention to the gradual increase of the French navy ever since the last Dutch war, and

⁽¹⁾ *James II.*, i. 443.

⁽²⁾ Macpherson, i. 49

to the fact that the Dutch also had augmented theirs, so that it was only common prudence that his Majesty should make some suitable preparations that he might at least keep pace with (if not outgo) his neighbours ; so the King, of his princely care for the good of his people, had given order for the fitting-out of fifty sail of the line.⁽¹⁾ These, of course, cost money, and so the House was asked for a supply, and a sum of £800,000, with more to be raised from various sources, was cheerfully voted.

Coventry Act.

During the debate, a tax was suggested on the frequenters of theatres, and a sarcastic remark being made by Sir John Coventry respecting the King's habits, the expression was bitterly resented at Court, and certain gallants resolved to punish the insult offered to their sovereign. Accordingly, a party of about fifteen, composed of officers or "gentlemen" of Monmouth's troop of Life Guards, among whom the lieutenant, Sir Thomas Sandys, was prominent, and also O'Brien, a son of Lord Inchiquin, lay wait for the member for Weymouth as he was returning to his lodging near Suffolk Street late at night, on the evening after the House had adjourned for the Christmas holidays. They beat him, threw him on the ground, and made a deep incision in his nose with a pen-knife. The House was indignant at this murderous assault perpetrated on one of its members, and resolved, the first thing after their re-assembling, not to proceed with any business till reparation had been made ; and a Bill was passed, still known by the name

⁽¹⁾ *Parl. Hist.*, iv. 457.

of the *Coventry Act* (22 and 23 Car. II. c. 1), "to prevent malicious wounding and maiming," the offence being declared a capital felony.⁽¹⁾

In the same month a most audacious attempt had been made to murder the Duke of Ormond,⁽²⁾ as he was returning in the dark from a dinner given by the City to the young Prince of Orange. For in the midst of the negotiations which Charles was carrying on for the destruction of Holland, his nephew arrived in London to pay his first visit to his uncle. Charles proposed to detain him in England, but Louis would not consent.⁽³⁾ They little thought that the youth whose interests and person they were thus disposing of, would in future days ruin the family of the one, and stop, in its fullest career, the ambition of the other. It is satisfactory to read the character, reported by the French Ambassador to his master, which Charles

Visit of the
Prince of
Orange.

(1) Monmouth, the real contriver of the outrage, escaped punishment, and in a few weeks after committed a still more atrocious offence. On the night of February 28th, in company with the young Duke of Albemarle and others, in a drunken frolic he attacked the watch and killed the beadle of the ward, though the poor man on his knees begged for his life. Charles, to save his son, granted a pardon to all the murderers; but both the crime and the pardon were severely censured by the people.

(2) He was dragged out of his carriage in St. James's Street, and mounted on a horse, and fastened by a leather belt to the rider. The leader of the miscreants went on before (to Tyburn) to make preparations for hanging their captive. But on the road to Knightsbridge the Duke with his foot managed to unseat the rider, and both fell to the ground. Footsteps being heard, the assassin unfastened the belt, discharged a brace of pistols at the Duke, and fled. Though the King offered £1,000 reward and a pardon to the accomplices, no clue could be obtained to lead to their apprehension. It became known that the chief of the gang was Colonel Blood, of Sarney, County Meath, who had been outlawed for an attempt to surprise the Castle of Dublin, and who afterwards attempted to steal the regalia from the Tower.

(3) Macpherson, i. 47.

had given of his visitor: "The King of England is much satisfied with the parts of the Prince of Orange. But he finds him so passionate a Dutchman and Protestant, that even although your Majesty had not disapproved of his trusting him with any part of the secret, these two reasons would have hindered him."⁽¹⁾

War with
Holland.

The King was now bent on war with the Dutch, from which he expected to reap an abundant harvest of profit and glory, in respect of the accession of trade which would ensue to the British on the ruin of their commercial rival, and the additional authority which he would acquire as head of a conquering army and navy. A spectacle sad to contemplate, two brave nations, intimately connected in sentiments, about to imbrue their hands in each other's blood in an unjustifiable war! Long and frequent prorogations were made, lest Parliament should protest against counsels so opposite to the inclination as well as the real interests of the people. To obtain his objects, vast preparations had to be made, and funds provided commensurate with the design. Under pretence of maintaining the Triple Alliance, which he had resolved to break, Charles had obtained large supplies from the Commons; France had agreed to contribute £200,000 during the continuance of the war, and the King's evil counsellors of the Cabal administration urged him to throw off his dependence upon his Commons, suggesting an additional and iniquitous resource, namely, the declining on the score of public necessity to repay

(1) Colbert to Louis XIV., Dec. 4, 1670. Dalrymple, i. 122.

the principal due to the State creditors for money advanced. By this "closing of the Exchequer," as it was termed, about thirteen hundred thousand pounds was appropriated by the Government, to the ruin of most of the bankers and to the distress of numerous claimants.

When a quarrel is sought, it is not difficult to find a pretext. It was known in the month of March that a Dutch fleet, laden with the products of the Levant, would pass up the Channel, and it was resolved to capture it. Sir Robert Holmes was entrusted with this mission. The States were not uninformed of the course matters were taking, and warned their naval commanders of the possibility of a sudden rupture between the two countries. Holmes fell in with the merchantmen to the number of sixty, under convoy of seven men-of-war, at the back of the Isle of Wight, and immediately attacked them; but the Dutch admiral disposed his forces to such advantage, and made so gallant a defence, that Holmes succeeded only in cutting off one man-of-war, and four merchantmen, to the great disappointment of Charles, who had anticipated a rich prize. The English Ministry endeavoured to apologise for the action by pretending that it was a casual rencounter arising from the obstinacy of the Dutch in refusing the honours of the flag. For among the causes of Charles's displeasure, real or pretended, was disrespect to the British flag, and he had written to Downing, his ambassador to Holland, that he was resolved to have his flag saluted even on their own shores, as always had been the custom,

Attack on
Dutch fleet.

and also to have his dominion of the seas asserted, and Admiral Van Ghent exemplarily punished. ⁽¹⁾

War declared.

War—as might be expected—was declared against Holland, in which France joined, the principal plea set forth being the arrogance of the States. Proclamation to that effect was made in London on the 28th March, in the following order:—

Proclamation.

The Marshal's men; ten Trumpeters; the Serjeant Trumpeter; three Officers of Arms' Assistants; two Heralds to proclaim; three Serjeants-at-Arms; a detachment of Life Guards.

From Whitehall Palace the cavalcade proceeded to Temple Bar, where a Trumpeter advanced and sounded at the gate, and demanded entrance into the city in the King's name. The gates were then opened, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen joined the procession. Proclamation was then made at Chancery Lane; at the end of Wood Street, Cheap-side; and at the Royal Exchange. The ceremony being ended, the Lord Mayor invited all attending the service to dinner. ⁽²⁾

Monmouth's
Regiment.

In anticipation of the war a regiment was formed, and the command of it given to Monmouth. Ten men out of each of the twenty-four companies of the King's, and the same number out of the Coldstream, ⁽³⁾ regiments of Guards, were drafted to assist

⁽¹⁾ Charles to Downing, January 16th, 1671-2, in Lord King's *Life of Locke*, i. 177.

⁽²⁾ *London Gazette*, March, 1672.

⁽³⁾ "Charles R.—Orders to the commanding officers for drawing out of tenn soldiers (without their armes) out of each of the twelve companies of the Coldstream reg^t of our Foote Guards * * * to the end that they may be entertayned in a regiment of Foote, which wee

in completing it; the commanding officers being ordered to re-fill the vacant places by recruits.

In April of this year a regiment of dragoons was raised, and placed under the command of Prince Rupert. It consisted of twelve troops of eighty men, besides officers. The men, with certain exceptions, were ordered to be armed with a matchlock, musket and bandaliers, and also "to carry one bayonett or greate knife" (the plug-bayonet for insertion in the muzzle). This is the first record of a regiment in the British service ordered to be supplied with bayonets.⁽¹⁾

Rupert's
Dragoons.

The Duke of York again took command of the English fleet, the crews being supplemented as usual by companies of the Guards and the Admiral's regiment, which were increased from 98 men to 100 per company for sea-service. On the 28th of May, a desperate action was fought with the Dutch under De Ruiter, in Southwold Bay. The battle raged from seven o'clock in the morning till seven in the evening, when the Dutch retired, both fleets having suffered severely.

Seldom has any battle in our naval annals been more stubbornly contested; with a great inferiority in numbers, the English obtained a victory. The French fleet, under Count D'Estrées, was present,

have given order to our most deare and intirely beloved sonne, James Duke of Monmouth, to raise and command. And you are, after the said men shall be drawne out and delivered as aforesaid, to give order to the captaines to recruite their companies.—18th day of February, 1671-2.

"ARLINGTON."

(1) See *British Army*, II. 321.

but rendered little, if any, assistance. Van Ghent was slain, and Lord Sandwich drowned.

gallantry of
Duke of
York.

The gallantry displayed by the Duke of York was conspicuous and undoubted, which is deserving of notice, as at a subsequent period of his life, when his mind was shattered by misfortunes, he was deficient in those qualities for which he had been remarkable during his younger days. The Earl of Mulgrave, who was present, says: "The Duke of York himself had the noblest share in this day's action;"⁽¹⁾ and the disinterested opinion of Captain Carleton, written long after the event, may be quoted: "The Duke of York remained all the time upon the quarter-deck, while the bullets plentifully whizzed around him, and I cannot omit doing a piece of justice to his memory in relating a matter of fact of which my own eyes were witnesses, and saying that no man in the fleet better deserved the title of courageous, or behaved himself more gallantly than he did."⁽²⁾

British Army.

The preparations of Louis XIV. for overwhelming the little Republic were now complete. A force of a hundred and fifty thousand men, commanded by three of the most experienced and able generals that it was ever the good fortune of one prince to possess—Condé, Turenne, and Luxembourg—were ready to march on the devoted provinces, with Vauban, the father of military engineering, to conduct the sieges.

⁽¹⁾ Works of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, ii. 11.

⁽²⁾ *Memoirs*, p. 4, ed. 1809.

On May 1st, Monmouth, escorted by a detachment of fifty gentlemen privates out of each of the three troops of Life Guards, arrived at the French camp, near Charleroy, to take command of the British contingent, which amounted to six thousand men, according to the agreement, and which all the standing forces had contributed to form. The resistance which the Dutch troops could offer was of the feeblest character. The little Republic seemed doomed to annihilation; beset by the troops of the Bishop of Münster and the Elector of Cologne, attacked by the armies of France and England; by the navies of the two last, and deserted by Sweden; Spain powerless to help, not a hand raised up elsewhere in its defence—though Europe, and especially the British people, sympathised—the States seemed to abandon themselves to despair. The fate of four millions of freemen depended on the courage and conduct of a youth of twenty-two. The Prince of Orange was declared Captain-General of the army and Admiral of the fleet, and the Stadtholderate, which had been in abeyance since his father's death in 1650, was re-established in his person. His great opponents, the De Witts, were torn in pieces by the populace, and he ruled supreme. Charles offered him the sovereignty of a part of his country if he would quit its defence, but he spurned the proposal.⁽¹⁾ The spirit of his countrymen was aroused and kept pace with his; they were prepared—if all other resources should fail—to transport themselves to a

(1) Dalrymple, i. 53.

quarter of the globe farthest from the seat of their ancient freedom.

gy of the
ch.

With a boldness and rapidity till then almost unknown, rivalling the activity of Cæsar, the French generals, animated by the presence of their monarch, reduced in less than two months the fortresses on the Rhine; the river itself was crossed, Maestricht was blockaded by a force of twenty thousand men, Utrecht delivered up its keys, and five out of the seven provinces were in the power of Louis, who was then saluted as "The Great." The operations were concluded for the year, and the armies went into quarters. The terms offered by the Allies were such as the Prince could not accept, and the Hollanders determined to resist to the last.

Regiment
raised for
France.

In November, eight companies of one hundred men each, formed into a regiment, were sent to France with orders to remain in the service of Louis XIV. They were selected from the standing forces, and from the regiments lately raised for the Dutch war. They consisted of Bevil Skelton's and Edward Sackville's companies of the King's regiment of Guards, John Huitson's company of the Coldstream, John Churchill's⁽¹⁾ of the Admiral's, John Howard's of the Holland, John Trelawny's of Fitzgerald's,⁽²⁾ John Pigot's of the Duke of Buck-

(1) Afterwards the celebrated Duke of Marlborough, b. 1650. Appointed Ensign in the 1st Guards, 1667. Afterwards saw some rough fighting at Tangier, and on his return was promoted to a company in the Admiral's regiment.

(2) Commanded a regiment at Tangier in 1662.

ingham's, and Ashburnham's of Lord le Poer's regiment.⁽¹⁾

"Captain Bevill Skelton, of the 1stst Foot Guards, as eldest captain, to command the battalion, and to receive his pay during his absence."⁽²⁾ He had lately been serving with his company on board the fleet, and why he was selected for this command is not apparent, as he was not one of the senior captains of his regiment, being eighth on the list. In the "History of the Grenadier Guards" (i. 174) he is stated to be a Roman Catholic, and on that account appointed as being likely to prove more acceptable to Louis XIV. But that is a mistake: he was a Protestant.⁽³⁾ His name first appears in a "Petition of John Beaumont" (probably the future Lt Col. of the VIIIth, cashiered by Jas. II. for not receiving Irishmen into his regiment, afterwards mentioned), "and Bevill Skelton for their appointment as officers to measure all casks in the kingdom" (*Dom. Ch. II.*, Jan. 23rd, 1662). He entered the Guards in 1667, and there was evidently favoritism at work, for he was a captain in the next year.⁽⁴⁾ He was subsequently employed as a diplomatist, and in 1685 was sent as Minister to the

(1) "Warrant for payment of 8 comp^s designed for France; mustered 16th Nov., 1672." (The three last-mentioned regiments were newly raised.)—*Add. MSS. B. M.* 5,752, fol. 224.

(2) 23rd Nov., 1672. *War Office Rec.* Bevil Skelton's name is always spelt "Bevill" in contemporary documents.

(3) Lingard, viii., ch. iv.—*History of the Desertion*, p. 53 in State Tracts.

(4) "Bevill Skelton to be Captain, Nov. 20, 1668, in Col. Russell's regiment." (*Entry Bk. Mil.*, 20, P.R.O.)

States-General; having been born in Holland, he was supposed to be peculiarly qualified for that post (which he certainly would not have been had he been a Romanist), but he had not merit to plead for his preferment, as he proved himself eminently unfitted for the position.⁽¹⁾

military
precedence.

In the succeeding year, the following regulation as to the precedence of the Infantry was issued by order of the King, in consequence of a dispute arising between the Duke of Monmouth's regiment and the battalion under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Skelton. The King gave precedence to the latter.

“CHARLES R.

“For the preventing of all questions and disputes for or concerning the ranks of Our several regiments of foot, Wee have thought fitt to issue these following rules and directions:

“First. The Captains of Our own regiment of Foot Guards take place of all other Captains of Foot, and command accordingly: and in the town or other quarters where they come to do duty, they are to have the main guard without dispute as being their fixt post; and upon all drawings-up they are to have the right, and upon all marches to be in the vanguard.

“Secondly. That the Captains of the Coldstream Regiment of Our Foot Guards be ranked and command next to the Captains of Our own regiment of Foot Guards, and to have preference of other

(1) Macaulay, i. 545.

regiments in having the main guards, the right hand in drawing-up and the vanguard in marches accordingly.

“Thirdly. The Captains of other regiments of Foot shall be ranked and command according to the seniorities of the regiments they are of, and not otherwise.

“Fourthly. That when the eight companies, which Wee sent out of several regiments into France, shall be in the field, that then they make a battalion apart, and draw up on the right hand of Our dear and intirely beloved son James Duke of Monmouth’s regiment.

“Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the first day of March, 1672-3.

“By His M^{ts} command,

“ARLINGTON.”

Charles had resolved to make use of his supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters, and issued a Proclamation suspending the penal laws against all nonconformists or recusants whatsoever. The object sought was to give greater freedom to the Romanists.⁽¹⁾

Religious
Freedom.

So strong was the feeling against this declaration of indulgence, that both Houses of Parliament joined in an address to the Crown on their re-assembling on February 4th, 1673, and were so persistent in their demand that the King consented to withdraw it on May 8th, being urgently in need of supplies for the war, amounting on the whole to £1,200,000;⁽²⁾

(1) *Parl. Hist.*, iv. 503.

(2) *Burnet’s Own Times*, ii. 13.

and moreover consented to a Test Act being passed (25 Car. c. 2), by which all persons holding office were required to partake of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the ritual of the Church of England, and also to subscribe a declaration against Transubstantiation. In consequence, the Duke of York and others had to resign their appointments, and the command of the fleet was placed in the hands of Prince Rupert.

In April Monmouth left England for Paris, and on his arrival there was made Lieut.-General. Louis doubtless desired to please Charles by attention to his favourite son. The French army shortly marched to Maestricht, and on the 7th of June invested the town.⁽¹⁾

(1) "At Maestricht, in 1673, Vanban introduced his famous parallels and places of arms, and at every fresh siege he went on adding to his new system; sometimes a cavalier in the trenches, at others a new mode of sapping or demi-sapping, and finally he astonished the world by an ingenious application of the force of gunpowder—ricochet firing." (Jervis, *Engines of War*, p. 73.)

It is not inappropriate here to mention that there was no uniformity of clothing in the French army till 1665, when Louis XIV. introduced it into his household troops; but it was not generally adopted into the service till some years later, the reason given being that the captains contracted to find the men and their clothing, and could not afford the expense. In 1672 the Governor of a fortified place writes to suggest the advantage of uniform as diminishing the facility of desertion, the soldiers being thereby more easily recognised.

The origin of the term *Martinet* is also found in the same author. (*Hist. de Louvois par Camille Rousset*, i. 187.)

"Lt.-Col. Martinet un des hommes intelligents, energetiques et dévoués, tiré de la bourgeoisie pour donner l'exemple aux jeunes gens de bonne maison. C'était sur lui que Louvois avoit porté son choix pour l'associer à la glorieuse et possible tâche de refaire l'éducation, et de chatier les habitudes vicieuses de l'infanterie Française." (*Ibid.*, 266.)

The pay of a company of French infantry at this period was as follows:—"Le mousquetaire avoit 5 sous; le piquier, 6 deniers de plus, l'anspesade (le premier grade), 6 sous; le caporal, 7; le sergent,

On the 17th of June the trenches were opened, and on the 24th Monmouth led a detachment with such courage against the counterscarp that he soon carried it, and advancing to the outward demi-lune, which was before the Brussels gate, after a brisk conflict of half an hour he won that also, although the besieged during that time sprang two mines. The enemy on the following day sprang another mine, which blew a captain, ensign, and sixty soldiers into the air, then making a furious attack they drove the besiegers back with great slaughter. Monmouth, unwilling to lose what he had the day before so dearly purchased, drew his sword, and with Captain Churchill and twelve private gentlemen of the Life Guards, leaped into the trenches; and, regardless of the storm of bullets, rushed through one of the sally-ports, and running forward met the men fleeing before the enemy. The arrival of the young Duke inspired his troops with fresh valour, and they now turned round upon their assailants. Monmouth and Churchill, with the Life Guards, who threw away their carbines⁽¹⁾ and drew their swords, led the troops they had rallied so gallantly that the Dutch were driven back, and the demi-lune was regained.

(1) "Our will and pleasure is, that Out of Our stoares remaining wthin the office of Our Ordnance, you cause twelve carabines to be delivered to Corporall Ferdinando Stanhope for the use of twelve gentlemen of Our troopes of Guards who were of the party of Our Guards that were under the Lord Duras his command in France," &c., 20th day of May, 1674.

"To Or &c., Sr Thomas Chichley, Knt, Qr Mastr Genl of Or Ordnance."

(*War Office Records.*)

On the 2nd of July the town surrendered, after an obstinate defence of twenty-three days.

Rupert's Fleet.

The liberal supply voted by Parliament gave new vigour to the preparations for war, and a powerful fleet was equipped, so that with the French combined Rupert had under his command a formidable force of ninety sail of the line. But though he fought three actions with De Ruiter, he neither inflicted nor received much injury. The newly-raised regiments were on board, to the command of which a distinguished soldier, Count Schomberg,⁽¹⁾ had been appointed; these, with the French soldiers, amounted to 8,000, according to Mulgrave. Rupert's instructions were to land the troops on the coast of Holland. He therefore wished to avoid the Dutch fleet, but De Ruiter bore down upon him near the Texel, and an action ensued. The result was

(1) Frederick, son of Count Schomberg, of an illustrious family in Germany. His mother was a daughter of Lord Dudley. He began his military career at the age of sixteen under the Swedish General Rantzau, after that entered the service of Holland under Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, and his son William II., who both highly esteemed him. At the death of William in 1650 he repaired to France, and bought a company in the *Gendarmes Ecosais*. He was afterwards sent to assist the Portuguese against the Spaniards, and was entirely successful. In 1673 he arrived in England to take the command of the expeditionary troops, but being dissatisfied with the service he returned to France, and, although a Protestant, he attained to the dignity of a Marshal. He remained there until the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, when he went to Brandenburg, the Elector of which made him a Minister of State. At the request of William, Prince of Orange, he obtained leave to accompany him to England in 1688. He became Commander-in-Chief and Master of the Ordnance. In 1689 he was made a K.G., naturalised by Act of Parliament, and subsequently a Duke. The House of Commons voted him £100,000. He was accidentally shot at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. Buried in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.

indecisive, but the landing was prevented, and the English fleet had to return to refit. A misunderstanding had occurred between Rupert and Schomberg. When the troops were being embarked, Schomberg—unacquainted with naval etiquette—affixed his regimental colours to the mast of his vessel, as a signal to his officers in the other transports. Rupert resented this act; two shots were fired through the rigging, and orders were given to sink the General's ship unless the flag was immediately struck, to which Schomberg reluctantly submitted. The fleet on returning re-landed the troops at Yarmouth, and Schomberg resigned his command and returned to the French service, not, however, before he had sent a challenge to Rupert, which the King arranged, "though not out of kindness to either."⁽¹⁾

The other powers of Europe did not remain indifferent spectators of the contest. The conquests of Louis threatened to lead to a general war in Christendom. The Emperor of Germany and the King of Spain offered their assistance to the Stadtholder, and formed a defensive alliance against the enemies of the Republic. The States, moreover, indulged in a hope of detaching Charles from his French alliance. The Parliament persistently resolved that no further supply should be voted for the war, "unless it should appear that the obstinacy of the Dutch should render it necessary, not before the Kingdom is secured against the dangers of

Holland saved.

⁽¹⁾ *Buckinghamshire* (J. Sheffield) *Memoirs*, ii. 20.

Popery.”⁽¹⁾ The religious antipathies of the people were greatly excited by the intelligence that the Duke of York had lately been married by proxy to a Roman Catholic Princess, Maria d’Este, daughter of the reigning Duke of Modena. Charles, unable to obtain any further supplies, made a separate peace with the Dutch, excused himself to Louis by laying the blame on his Parliament, and offered his mediation for a peace between France and Holland. So by the noble devotion of the Hollanders their independence was preserved, but it was a year before Luxembourg and his legions retired beyond their frontiers.

English
Regiment in
France.

Charles declined to withdraw the British troops that were serving in the French army, but promised the States that he would not further recruit them. It was surely no small compliment that Louis was desirous of retaining them. Monmouth’s regiment was styled THE ROYAL ENGLISH REGIMENT OF FOOT; it was increased to three battalions. Colonel Scott was the commander, having succeeded Sir Samuel Clarke. Piercy Kirke (whose name afterwards became so notorious as the Colonel of “The Lambs”), was Major; and Theophilus Oglethorpe was a Captain in it. The officers being granted leave of absence from England, thus retained their English full pay while receiving the same from the French Government.⁽²⁾ When Colonel Scott retired

⁽¹⁾ *Parl. Hist.*, iv. 602.

⁽²⁾ Permission was granted by Royal Warrant, 23rd February, 1672-3, “to Piercy Kirke to go and remain in France in the regt. of Our dear Son, the Duke of Monmouth, in the service of Our dear Brother,

on account of illness, Colonel Justin Macarty was appointed in his place.⁽¹⁾ The young John Churchill had highly distinguished himself during the late military operations. At the siege of Nimeguen he had attracted the eye of Turenne, who afterwards always spoke of him as his handsome Englishman; and for his conduct in storming the works at Maestricht he received the thanks of the King of France. He continued to serve with Monmouth's regiment in the forces left at the disposition of Louis, and in April, 1674, was appointed by Louis colonel of the English regiment vacated by the resignation of the Earl of Peterborough.⁽²⁾

A curious insight into the manners of the day is given in the contemporary correspondence of Sir Joseph Williamson⁽³⁾ :—

“On Saturday last two guardsmen of the Horse Guards quarrelling, the Countess of Shrewsbury's coachman interposing, but too rudely, with his whip, with which he slasht one of the gentlemen so often over the face, that he was so far provoked as with one thrust to run the fellow through the body and

the Most Christian King, &c., and to be continued to be mustered as a Cornet of the said Troop with his two men,” &c.—Packer's *Records*, R.H.G. (Blue).

“Leave of absence to Captain Theophilus Oglethorpe, one of the gentlemen of the Duke of York's Troop of H. M.'s Guards, commanded by Louis, Earl of Feversham, to be absent for twelve months in foreign parts.” July 21st, 1677.—*P.R.O. Entry Book, Dom. (Mil.)*, No. 44.

⁽¹⁾ These particulars are gathered from *Entry Book* No. 41, P.R.O.

⁽²⁾ Coxe's *Duke of Marlborough*, p. 5. Peterborough went as Ambassador-Extraordinary to Modena, to negotiate the marriage of the daughter of Duke Alphonso II. with the Duke of York, and was proxy in the marriage ceremony, landing at Dover November 21st, 1673.

⁽³⁾ *Camden Soc.*, 1874, i. 86-87.

broke his sword in him, with which he presently died; and the guardsman being seized was presently brought to be examined by the Duke of Buckingham, who beat the man very much and broke his head, for which his Grace is much blamed; the thing at last being found by the Green Cloth but manslaughter; but the Duke has promised him he shall be hanged." (July 4th, 1673.)

Again: "A drummer of the Duke of Albemarle's at Blackheath being got drunk, and for it carrying to the horse (*i.e. being carried to ride the wooden horse*), the soldiers got together, and declared they saw no reason to punish him for what the officers had never been free from since their coming thither, and then took him from them and rudely treated their officers, Colonel Vane having a musket presented to his breast, and great disorder had like to have happened; but every captain drawing off his men, it was at last appeased, and the offenders to be punished according to the military orders now published."

Peace.

The Peace with Holland was concluded on February 9th, 1674. On the 7th of February the Commons had resolved "That the continuing of any Standing Forces other than the Militia is a great grievance and vexation to the people; and that this House do humbly petition his Majesty to cause immediately to be disbanded that part of them that were raised since January 1st, 1663."⁽¹⁾ On February 11th the King informed the Parliament

⁽¹⁾ *Coms. Jours.*, ix. 305.

that he had given orders for the disbanding the Forces referred to, as soon as he was sure of the peace; and that he would reduce them to a less number than they were in the year 1663, and that he should give directions for the march of those to Ireland who were brought from thence. In consequence of this pressure, all the new-raised regiments were disbanded, except those that were in the service and pay of France. The Life Guards returned to their former quarters, and fifty men, lost in service, were not replaced.⁽¹⁾ In April the battalion under the command of Bevil Skelton embarked at Rotterdam and returned to England, the companies being reduced in numbers by drafts supplied to Churchill's regiment.⁽²⁾

In 1675, Colonel Russell solicited leave to sell his commission, and the King agreed to purchase it for the Earl of Mulgrave. But Monmouth, by his importunity, extorted from his father a promise of the regiment for himself (April 24th). Mulgrave spoke to the Duke of York, and observed that as the regiment of 2,400 men formed the strength of the army, the succession to the Crown might one day depend on the fidelity of its commander. The Duke caught the alarm. He applied to the King, to Monmouth, to the Minister, but in vain. At last he prevailed on Russell, in consideration of a valuable present, to tell the King that he repented of his design; that it would break his heart to leave the

Colonel
Russell.

⁽¹⁾ Cannon's *Records Life Guards*, p. 45.

⁽²⁾ Mackinnon. ii. 262

service of his sovereign. Thus Monmouth was disappointed.⁽¹⁾

A Review.

On the 23rd of May, 1676, a grand review of the household troops took place in Hyde Park, under the command of the Duke of Monmouth. A detachment of "the trayne" was also present on this occasion, for whose attendance the following order was issued:—

Train to attend.

"Sir,—His Majesty having appointed a rendezvous of severall of his Majesties Horse and Foot Guards in Hyde Park on Tuesday next, being the 23rd of this inst^t, I desire you to cause eight field pieces, viz. foure demi-culverings, and foure saker brasse ordnance, and two mortar pieces, with all their carriages and furniture thereunto belonging, together with two waggons, two tumbrells, and foure tents, attended with a competent number of gunners, fifty pioneers, with their respective officers, in their best equipage, to attend the exercise of the said forces on the day above mentioned, and that they faile not to be there and by eight of the clock in the morning at far^t.

"I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

"Gence
your most humble servant,
"MONMOUTH.

at the Cockpit, ye 19th May, 1676.

in "To the Rt Honble Sr Thomas Chicheley, Knt, Master General of His Majties Ordnance; or in his absence to the Lieut.-Generall, and the principal officers of the same."

From the earliest times the department of the

(¹) Duke of Buckinghamshire, ii. 26.

State charged with the care of Crown fortresses and their armaments was the Board of Ordnance; taking its name, as Sir Edward Coke supposed, from an "Ordnance" or law anciently made to regulate the bore, size and bulk of artillery.⁽¹⁾ At the Restoration most of the fortified places were dismantled, and their walls razed. In those that were retained a very small military force was stationed, generally composed of independent companies. As for instance:

"An Establishment for Our Castle and Garrison of Chester."⁽²⁾

			£	s.	d.
A Captain	.	per diem	.	0	8 0
Lieutenant	.	"	.	0	4 6
A Serjeant	.	"	.	0	1 6
Two Corporals, 12 <i>d.</i> each	.	"	.	0	2 0
Drummer	.	"	.	0	1 0
60 Souldiers, each 8 <i>d.</i>	.	"	.	2	0 0
For fire and coall	.	"	.	0	0 8

and where there was ordnance a gunner was added, with pay seldom in excess of the private soldier. Of course these "Establishments" varied according to circumstances. Sir William Dalston, K^{nt} and Bart., Governor of the Citadel or fort of Carlisle, had six gunners and only eight soldiers.⁽³⁾ The appointment of gunners was for life; they were not regarded as military, and although they were bound to obey the orders of the Commandant, they owed as their chief the Master-General, to whom authority was given by a warrant of Charles II. to examine into their efficiency, and to discharge such as were

(1) *Institutes of the Laws of England*, Pt. iii., p. 79.

(2) P.R.O. *Entry Book*, No. 11.

(3) P.R.O. *Bundlle* No. 242

unfit for service, notwithstanding they might hold patent appointments.⁽¹⁾ They were in fact artificers—not always skilled—under the superintendence of a headman, styled the Master-Gunner of England.

At the Restoration the Board of Ordnance was reconstituted, Sir William Compton⁽²⁾ being appointed Master General; Colonel William Legge, Lieutenant, with a commission to be Superintendent, with General's pay, also Treasurer of the Ordnance, and these offices were conferred upon him for life. In the next year (1661) he obtained a grant of the King's house in the Minories, where he died of a fever on Oct. 13th, 1672.⁽³⁾ Major Francis Nicols, Surveyor. Colonel James Weymes was appointed Master-Gunner of England, which office he retained until 1665, when Captain Pine succeeded him⁽⁴⁾; Sir Bernard de Gomme, Chief Engineer of all garrisons, forts, &c., with a fee of 13s. 4d. by the day, payable out of the Exchequer, and a yearly pension of £300 to be paid to him half-yearly during his life; and

(1) Clode, i. 8.

(2) Third son of the Earl of Northampton. Retained the office till he died suddenly, 18th Oct., 1663. Pepys (ii. 47) laments him as "one of the worthiest men and best officers of State now in England."

(3) Collins's *Peerage*, "Dartmouth."

(4) "Capt. Pine to be Master Gunner of England in place of James Weymes. 14th Dec., 1665." (P.R.O. *Entry Book*, No. 11.)—Pepys says (iii. 177), when the fort at Sheerness was taken by the Dutch, "that old Captain Pyne, who I am told is Master Gunner of England, was the last that staid there," when all the rest ran away. The Scottish Parliament granted a monopoly to Col. Jas. Weymyss, in 1661, for the exclusive sale of his several inventions of light ordnance. One Wemyss was made Master-Gunner of England by Charles I., but he embraced the Parliamentary side, and became Master of Essex's Ordnance. Probably the same man. See *N. to Mems.* of John Gwyn, p. 43.

“George Browne, Esq., to the office or offices of Gunfounder, and of casting and making of Brass and Iron Ordinance, guns and mortar pieces, and of gunstone maker, and contriving and making of Granadoes, Iron Bullets and Shott for his Majesty’s service from henceforth for the term of one and twenty years, with the wages and fee of four shillings by the day,” dated 14th Sept., 1660.⁽¹⁾

On the 1st Jan., 1877, the effective strength of the Royal Regiment of Artillery consisted of 31,086 men⁽²⁾; in 1661—with the exception of a few master-gunners and gunners scattered here and there in the forts and castles of England—the number of artillerymen maintained in the Tower, the Head Quarters, amounted to just 52! viz.:—

“ 52 gunners {	3 gunners at 1s.	} each {	Paid in the		
	1 „ 8d.			} per {	March Quarter Book
	48 „ 6d.					} diem {	at the Tower.

In 1662—

“ 90 gunners {	13 gunners at 1s.	} each {	Paid in the		
	5 „ 8d.			} per {	December Quarter Book
	72 „ 6d.					} diem {	at the Tower.”

In 1664, the “Quarter Books,” as they were termed, preserved in the Tower, show a total of 98. In 1670–1 show a total of 103, so that there was in ten years an increase of 51 gunners.

In the *Add. MSS.*, B. Mus., N. 4,713, is the appointment of George Wharton, Esquire, to be “Clerk of the Delivery of the Ordinance not only

(1) 1st Aug., 1660. P.R.O., *Bundle*, 347.

(2) General Annual Return of the British Army — 1877.

of the Tower, but also of the Minoritts,"⁽¹⁾ (*sic*) dated 30th March, 1670; and Ernest de Reus to be fire-master to the office of Ordnance.

The Quarter Book for July, 1679, contains an entry of the sum of £100 to Jonas Moore, Esq^{re}, "for his better encouragement in the study of mathematics, especially in the art of fortification, gunnery and artillery, and such other parts thereof as most conduce to his Majesty's service."⁽²⁾ Also to Capt. Richard Leake, Master-Gunner of England, "for exercise of schollars to shoot in great ordnance at the Artillery Ground," with the wages or fee of 2s. a day for life. Another "to John Tucker, for his invention of a new way of shooting hand grenades out of a small hand mortar-piece, which may prove of great advantage to his Majesty's service."

Although warfare in the seventeenth century was assuming a new feature on the Continent—for the continuous wars of Louis XIV. and the necessities of Holland had produced a Vauban and a Cohorn, by whose genius fortresses had become so

(1) So called from an Abbey of Nuns. (The King's House, just mentioned.) "In place of this house of nuns is now built divers fair and large store-houses for armour and habiliments of war." (Stow, p. 48.) In the Parish Church of the Holy Trinity, Col. W. Legge, and George Legge, 1st Earl of Dartmouth, are buried.

(2) Afterwards knighted. Published several works on Artillery and Engineering. "Modern Fortification, or Elements of Military Architecture, by Sir Jonas Moore, Master Surveyor of his Majesty's Ordnance." Other works of his are in the R.A. Library, Woolwich. He was mathematical master to the Duke of York. Built Flamstead House, on Greenwich Hill, and founded a school of mathematics in Christ's Hospital.

strengthened that they stood defiant of attack—yet the Artillerists did not keep pace with the Engineers, and no great improvements were made in developing the power of ordnance. Generals were still unwilling to encumber themselves with heavy field artillery, and calculated on victories to be gained by rapid movements.⁽¹⁾ Fortresses were therefore avoided, unless their capture were absolutely requisite, for the operation was terribly tedious, so that the Engineer had to bring offence on a par with defence, and Vauban introduced his famous parallels and places of arms as at Maestricht. England relied chiefly on her navy, with disciplined troops on board as combatants, and the guns of the period were sufficient to penetrate wooden hulls, so that there was no demand here for projectiles of increased power; and the art of invention grows with the growth of inventions. Our countrymen, however, were not deficient in the suggestion of improvements. The following extracts from Patents granted will prove that revolvers, breechloaders, and repeating fire-arms are not the birth of the present day :—

In Feb^{ry}. 1661, the Marquess of Worcester obtained Letters Patent for, among other things, “an invention to make certayne guns or pistolls which

Patent
Inventions.

⁽¹⁾ “There is no doubt but Artillery serves to good purpose to make an Enemy remove his camp or come out and fight. That it forceth Towns and Forts to yield we know, but we must confess (for all that) that few Battels have been won by artillery, for as Monluc says, *Il fait plus de peur que du mal*. The loss of a Train is of exceeding great consequence, therefore the less the Train is, the expence will be the less, and the expedition the greater.” (Turner's *Pallas Armata*, p. 193. 1670.)

in the tenth part of one minute of an houre may, with a flaske contrived to that purpose, be re-charged the fourth part of one turne of the barrell, which remains still fixt," &c.

March 24, 1662, "James Weyms, and James, his sonne, for a newe waye of making light ordinance," &c.

March 3, 1664, Abraham Hill, "for a new way of making of a gun or pistoll, the breech whereof rises upon an hindege by a contrivance of a motion from under it, &c.; also of another gun or pistoll, which hath a hole att the upper end of the breech to receive the charge, &c.; also of another gun or pistoll for small shott, carrying seaven or eight charges of the same in the stocke of the gun; also of a powder-horne or box, which opens by pressing with the finger the end of the charge or allowance, and shuts by a spring within it," &c.⁽¹⁾

Evelyn records that he went to Greenwich (1st of June, 1667), "where his Majesty was trying divers grenadoes shot out of cannon at the little hill, from the house in the Park; they brake not till they hit the mark; the forged ones brake not at all, but the cast ones they will. The inventor was a German."

In 1683, a "Book of Instructions" was issued, detailing the duties of the various officers of the Ordnance, and annexed to these instructions was a detail of "an establishment of the annual payments

⁽¹⁾ Abridgements of the Specifications, &c., Printed by Order of the Commissioners of Patents, p. 23.

and allowances to be made upon the Quarter-Books of the office of Our Ordnance." After specifying the salaries of the principal officers, from the Master-General at £1,500 per annum, to the store-keepers of the various ports and castles (the junior of whom, at St. James's Park, received £20 *per annum*), there follows a list of the "under ministers," including the Master-Gunner of England at £190; his three mates each at £45; sixty gunners at 1s. *per diem* (£18 5s. *per annum*); forty-four labourers each £26 *per annum*. It is remarkable that the labourers should receive more than the gunners.

Among the duties detailed as belonging to the Lieut.-General of the Ordnance, he is "to take care that the train of artillery in Our Tower of London, and all its equipage, be fitted for motion upon any occasion when it shall be ordered to be drawn into the field for Our service, and that all other trains in any of Our magazines within Our kingdom, be kept in good condition, and ready for Our service when required."

In the Harl. MSS., No. 4,244, is preserved "An abstract of all the Ordnance, together with all small arms and ammunition at his Majesties Castles, Forts and Garrisons," in 1669 and other years.

When artillery was required to accompany the troops in any expedition, a demand was made by virtue of the King's special warrant in each case on the principal officers of the Ordnance, for the number of guns, and the requisite stores, ammunition, and equipages for the service, and these were

delivered over to the officer named, who was responsible for their use.⁽¹⁾ On the 16th of June, 1685, on the occasion of Monmouth's rebellion, the King issued a warrant to Lord Dartmouth, Master-General of the Ordnance, directing him to order the store-keeper at Portsmouth to get ready a train of artillery, consisting of eight pieces of Ordnance, viz., four 3 prs. iron, nealed and turned, and four brass falcons, with all such stores, ammunition, and equipage, as he may judge requisite to attend the same for an immediate march.

For this train the following officers and men were appointed:—

	Per diem.
	s.
Comptroller, Henry Sheares, Esq.	15
His Clerk	3
Commissary of ammunition for train and army, Nicolas Sandford	10
Gentleman of the Ordnance, Richard Seahouse	5
Clerk to the Commissary	3
Quarter-Master	5
Two Conductors, 2s. 6d.	5
Firemaster	5
Master-Gunner	5
Eight gunners at 2s.	16
Eight matrosses at 1s. 6d.	12

By this list it appears that one gunner and one matross was assigned to each piece of ordnance. On the 21st of June a second warrant was issued, directing the Master-General to have in readiness

(1) "Proceedings R. A. Inst.," ii., 124, and "Notes on the Early Hist. of the R. A.," by Capt. W. L. Yonge, R.A.

a train of sixteen pieces of brass ordnance, consisting of

2 Twelve-pounders	4 Sakers
4 Demi-culverins	2 Minions
4 Six-prs.	

with forty round and fifteen case shot for each gun, with a numerous list of officers, artificers and drivers, with two gunners and two matrosses for each gun. This train was to march with all expedition to Chippenham to join the Earl of Feversham, whose orders the officers of the said train were to obey. To transport this train 1,500 horses and 60 waggons were hired.

	per diem.
	£ s. d.
" The pay of the Officers of the Trayn . . .	38 8 10
The hire of 1,500 Horses	150 0 0
For meat for the Horses	112 10 0
The pay of 532 Drivers	39 18 0
The pay of 60 country waggons, £600 per mensem." (1)	

As the Ordnance corps was a civil one, and consequently unable to supply military protection to the guns, five companies of Trelawny's regiment (late 2nd Tangier, now 4th King's Own), then in garrison at Portsmouth, were ordered to march in charge of the train. One of the first acts of James II., after the insurrection, was to raise a regiment armed with fusils (now 7th Royal Fusiliers), for the special protection of the artillery, the command of which he gave to Lord Dartmouth (10th of June, 1685), Master of the Ordnance. An

(1) Royal Warrants for Trains of Artillery, 1685—1737, Library, Woolwich.

idea, no doubt, taken from the French, who were in advance of us in these matters; they had raised a regiment of Fusiliers in 1671, which was converted into the *Regiment Royal de l'Artillerie* in 1693.⁽¹⁾

Master-
General.

The office of Master-General was one of such vast responsibility—not always adequately sustained—and of supervision and comprehension, that the regimental motto of *UBIQUE* fairly represented his avocations. His duties, and those of his subordinates, extending to the supply of *matériel*, not only to the army but also to the navy, are defined in the annual publication, “The present state of the British Court in 1720,” when John, Duke of Marlborough, was Master-General, one who strenuously supported the organisation of the artillery as an independent institution.⁽²⁾

In May, 1852, Lord Raglan was appointed Master-General. In May, 1855, the office was abolished; the command of the Royal Artillery was

(1) “L'origine du Regiment des Fusiliers fut en l'an 1671. Il fut attaché dès lors au service de l'Artillerie; on donna des fusils aux soldats au lieu de mousquets qui étoient alors l'arme commune presque à tous les corps d'Infanterie; outre l'épée on les arma d'une bayonette; et c'est le premier corps dont les soldats aient été ainsi armés.”

“En 1693 le Roy ordonna que le Regiment seroit désormais appelé *Regiment Royal de l'Artillerie*.” (Daniel, *Mil. Fran.*, ii. 533-5.)

(2) The Ordnance Mark of the Broad Arrow has been by some attributed to the time when the Earl of Romney was Master-General in 1693, in consequence of the pheon or arrow-head being the arms of the Sidneys. This absurd supposition is refuted by the fact that the “arowehede” as a mark of the Royal Household occurs as early as the 10th Rich. II., A.D. 1386, as will be found in Riley's *Memorials of London*, p. 489. In the Charter of the Tower of London in the reign of Jas. II., dated 10th June, 1687, it is recited “where the King's Broad Arrow now standeth, and hath anciently stood.”

given to the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, and the Ordnance duties rested on the Secretary for War. In 1869, Sir Henry Storks was made Controller-in-Chief, but in 1870 the designation of Surveyor-General of the Ordnance was revived, with a salary of £1,500 *per ann.*, at which it has since continued.

A history of the army would not be complete without a notice of that important branch of the service—the artillery—but a history of the Royal Regiment has lately been compiled by the able hands of a professional gunner; ⁽¹⁾ so that it would be obtrusive to enter into details which would simply be quotations from his exhaustive work, therefore a few striking epochs will conclude this subject.

Royal
Artillery.

The most memorable date is the 26th May, 1716, when the first permanent regimental establishment of artillery took place, in the shape of two companies at Woolwich, the nucleus of the future great regiment. Independent detachments of artillery were serving abroad, and it was for the purpose of feeding them that these parent companies were instituted at home, by the foresight and energy of the Duke of Marlborough, then Master-General of the Ordnance.

In the previous month an accident, attended with fatal consequences, had occurred at Mr. Bagley's Foundry upon Windmill Hill, which was the

(1) *History of the Royal Regiment of Artillery*, by Capt. Francis Duncan, R.A.

only place at that time where brass ordnance was cast for the Government. It had been determined to utilise the metal of the French guns captured by Marlborough; and several persons were attracted to the spectacle of re-casting them. A terrific explosion ensued, the consequence, it is said, of the dampness of the moulds. The story—so often repeated—that Schalch, then a young travelling Swiss, warned Colonel Armstrong, the Surveyor of the Ordnance, of what would ensue, rests on no evidence.⁽¹⁾ He may have been present, but a remarkable character was certainly there—Albert Borgard—an eminent artilleryman, and the future first Colonel of the Artillery regiment. In the modest phraseology of his Autobiography (preserved in the R.A. Library), he thus records the disaster:—

“—2 twenty-four pounder brass cannon were order'd to be cast by Mr. Bagley, in his Foundry, at Windmill Hill, at the casting of which I was ordered to be present. In the Founding, the mettall of one of the gunns blowed into the air, burnt many of the spectators, of which seventeen dy'd out of 25 persons, and myself received 4 wounds.”

⁽¹⁾ This story is told by Brayley in his *Beauties of England*, vii. 532, where he says: “The particulars are derived from *Vestiges Collected and Re-Collected*, by J. Moser, Esq., who was collaterally connected with Schalch, and from a conversation with L. Gastlin (a nephew of Schalch's), Dr. Hutton, and other officers belonging to the Establishment at Woolwich.” The account of the accident is given in *The Flying Post* or *The Post Master* for May 10th to 12th, 1716, and *The Weekly Journal* or *British Gazetteer* for May 12th and May 26th, 1716, but no allusion is made to Schalch.

In consequence of the accident, the Board of Ordnance was moved to issue the following order:—

“It having for many years been the opinion of the most experienced officers that the Government should have a Brass Foundry of their own, and whereas Mr. Bagley’s is the only one for casting Brass Ordnance, and lyable to dangerous accidents w^{ch} can^t be prevented, It is therefore order’d that a proposal and estimate be made for Building a Royal Brass Foundry at his Majesty’s Tower Place ⁽¹⁾ at Woolwich, and the charge thereof defrayed out of the £5,000 given this year by Parliament for recasting brass ordnance, and that no time be lost herein, inasmuch as there are but two 12-pounders, and not one 18 or 24-pounder for land service.” (*Tower Records.*)

On the 10th July this advertisement appeared in the *London Gazette*:—

“Whereas a Brass Foundry is now building at Woolwich for his Majesty’s Service, all Founders as are desirous to cast Brass Ordnance are to give in their proposals forthwith, upon such Terms as are regulated by the Principal Officers of his Majesty’s Ordnance, which may be seen at their Office in the Tower.”

(1) So called from a tower either erected by or called after Prince Rupert, demolished in 1736. The ground was formerly called “The Warren,” but on George III. visiting it, on the 24th June, 1805, he suggested that the name should be changed to the more appropriate one of “The Arsenal.” (*An. Reg.*, xlvii. 400.)

Andrew
Schalch.

One of the candidates was Andrew Schalch. His antecedents being inquired into, a report being received from the British Minister at Brussels that he bore "a good character at Doway, and was an able founder," he was engaged as master-founder at a salary of £5 *per diem*, which appointment he held for sixty years. He died in 1776, aged about ninety, and was buried in the churchyard at Woolwich. Several of the guns cast under his superintendence are preserved in the Rotunda, as well as one of the brass guns which was spoiled in the cast at Moorfields. ⁽¹⁾

The regiment was gradually growing into importance, and on the 1st April, 1722, it received a colonel in the person of Albert Borgard; and the selection of a second foreigner is a proof that English artillerists were not in high estimation.

"His late Majesty," he writes, "was graciously pleased to renew my old commission as colonel, and to give me the command of the regiment of Artillery established for his service, consisting of four companys."

Albert
Borgard.

His career from 1675, when he served as a cadet in his native Danish army, till he was appointed Colonel of the English Artillery, is a long and glorious record of good service rendered to Denmark, Prussia, and England. He entered the English service in 1692, already a veteran in battles and sieges; the list of his commissions is a curiosity, ⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ *Official Catalogue of the Museum of Artillery in the Rotunda, Woolwich*, by Brigadier-General J. H. Lefroy, R.A., pp. 10—11.

⁽²⁾ Duncan, i. 98.

passing through all grades from firemaster to colonel of the regiment, to his final rank of Lieut.-General, in the enjoyment of which he died at the age of 92, having survived 24 sieges, 20 battles, and 9 wounds.

In 1741 the strength of the regiment at home, exclusive of the companies abroad, amounted only to 451 of all ranks. In this year the Royal Military Academy was founded. For some years previously there had been "cadets," but now they were to be instructed in their duties, and with them "the raw and inexperienced people belonging to the military branch of the Ordnance."⁽¹⁾ There was to be a theoretical and practical school, and once a year "a great and solemn exercise of artillery," when prizes were to be shot for by the students. The conduct of the early cadets is amusing to look back upon, although sorely trying to the authorities. The officers on duty in the Warren had to visit the Academy at times to protect the masters, who were insulted and even pelted. In those "good old times" there were strange abuses and terrible jobberies. Some children drew pay as cadets almost from their cradle, and while the Academy was instituted specially for the study of mathematics, the professors had to complain of the presence of cadets who could neither read nor write. At first they wore no uniform, and special punishments were devised for those who should wear officers' uniforms for the purpose of getting past the guard at the

⁽¹⁾ Warrant dated 30th April, 1741, quoted by Lieut. G. E. Grove R.E., in *Proceedings of R.A. Inst.*, vi. 243.

Warren gate; at last the Academy was removed from the barracks to a secluded spot at the foot of Shooter's Hill, and the Lieut.-Governor had to assure the young gentlemen that for the future their conduct "should receive such corporal punishment as their crimes deserve." An improvement took place, and the Lieut.-Governor expresses "the highest satisfaction in the genteel behaviour of the company during the hours of dancing." (1)

Chamberlayne, in *Magnæ Britannicæ Notitia*, gives the pay of the regiment in England in 1743:—

"Col. Lt.-General Borgard, £1 5s. *per diem*; Lt.-Col. Pattison, £1; Major Lewis, 15s.; Captains, 4s.; Lieut. Fireworkers, 3s.; Surgeon, 4s.; Mate, 2s. 6d.; Chaplain, 6s. 8d.

"Men of the four companies of the regiment of artillery:—

	s.	d.		s.	d.
12 Sergeants	at 2	8	} <i>Per Diem.</i> {	32 Pontoon Gunners	1 4
12 Corporals	1	8		16 Cadet Matrosses	1 0
56 Bombardiers	1	8		184 Matrosses.	. 1 0
20 Miners	1	8		8 Drums	. . 1 0
46 Cadet gunners	1	4		4 Tinmen	. . 2 6
92 Gunners	1	4			

To show how imperfect was the organisation of the Artillery in 1745, and how dilatory the action of Government, when the disaffection of many of the Highland clans was notorious, and the report current that the young Prince Charles was to land in Scotland during the summer, the evidence in

(1) In 1682 Louis XIV. instituted "Compagnies de jeunes Gentilshommes ou Cadets," and amongst the staff of professors was "un maître à danser." (*Mil. Fran.*, ii. 432.)

the published account of the inquiry into Sir John Cope's conduct, in consequence of the defeat at Preston-pans, is edifying:—

“Mr. Griffith, Conductor of the Train, was asked, if there was any gunners or matrosses in the Castle of Edinburgh, when Sir J^o. Cope marched Northward?

“He says there was only one old man, who was a gunner, that had belonged to the old *Scots* Train, and also three Scots soldiers, of the Invalid Companies in the Castle, whom Mr. Griffith took with him to be assistant to him in the business of the Train.”

(Sir John Cope stated in his evidence that he had ordered General Preston to repair forthwith to his command of Edinburgh Castle, “which place I look upon to be of the greatest importance of any in this country”—p. 3.)

“Q. Were these men of any use in the Day of Battle?

“A. They did serve as Matrosses, in using the Handspikes, &c., but could not serve as gunners; and that he fired all the Cohorns and Royals himself, and Lt.-Col. Whiteford the Cannon.

“Q. Lt.-Col. Whiteford was asked whether the old gunner and the three Invalid Soldiers were useful enough to be employed as gunners?

“A. So far from it, that as soon as the

Action began, they ran away with the Powder Flasks, which hindered him from firing so many cannon as he would have done."

"The two last witnesses say, That the Artillery consisted of six Field-pieces, $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounders, four Cohorns, and two Royals: they each fired one round of all these pieces, except Col. Whiteford, who, for want of priming, could not fire the sixth cannon."

Lt.-Col. Whiteford further says: "That six gunners who were borrowed from the Men of War, were generally drunk upon the march; and upon the Day of Action, ran away before the Action began, and he could never have any dependence upon them during the two days they were with him." (p. 55.)

Contract
Horses.

Horses were not yet considered a necessary part of the establishment. Cope says: "I contracted with proper persons for horses to carry a small Train of four Field-pieces, and four Cohorns, the country horses being too small for that service." These horses and their drivers, however, frequently disappeared altogether during the night. In fact, England seems to have been behind all other nations in the organisation and use of field artillery, until the commencement of the French Revolution in 1793. Up to that time the guns were dispersed among the infantry, two pieces to a battalion, and as their range was short, it was impossible to use them for their legitimate purpose—the concentra-

tion of fire upon a point. They were drawn by horses in single team; the drivers were on foot with long whips. The whole equipment was so cumbrous that the pieces could be moved only at a foot's pace, or if on some important occasions the speed was increased, the men came into action breathless and unable to serve their guns.

A decision was given at the Court of King's Bench, on the 6th June, 1780, that the horses, conductors, and drivers on contract with the Board of Ordnance for the service of the Royal Artillery, while on actual service, shall be received by the Innkeepers by billet, and accommodated with quarters at the rate of dragoons and their horses. ⁽¹⁾

The progress of the Regiment in its military status was not viewed without professional jealousy; and the officers of four infantry regiments stationed in Minorca, refused to sit on Court-martial with the officers of the train. The matter being referred home, orders were issued that officers of artillery should sit and vote with other officers of the army, according to the dates of their commissions. In 1751, the question was definitely settled by placing the royal signature on all their commissions—hitherto they had been signed by the Master-General; ⁽²⁾ and in 1756 artillery officers were

Jealousy.

⁽¹⁾ *An. Reg.*, xxiii. 215.

⁽²⁾ "Warrant giving Military Rank to the Royal Artillery," dated 30th April, 1751, is printed in Clode, i. 584.

ordered to take the right of "all foot on parades, and of dragoons when dismounted." ⁽¹⁾

In 1750 the standard of height for recruits was 5 feet 9 inches "without their shoes." (*Standing Orders.*)

First Mess.

On the 5th October, 1783, the first Regimental Mess was established. The entrance subscription was one guinea. Up to this time, the officers had messed at two public-houses in Woolwich. In 1787 the Regimental Band consisted of a Bandmaster at 4s. *per diem*, and eight private men, who were borne on the strength of the companies at Woolwich. ⁽²⁾

Brigades and Batteries.

The year 1757 found the Regiment consisting of 24 companies, organised in two battalions. Since then, battalion upon battalion has been superadded, until fifteen were counted. In 1859 a new nomenclature was adopted; battalions and companies being superseded by brigades and batteries.

It has been already stated that the Ordnance

⁽¹⁾ QUEEN'S REGULATIONS, 1863.

1. The Royal Horse Artillery, whether mounted or dismounted.
2. Household Cavalry, &c.

These were modified in 1873, with the following order of precedence:

1. Regiments of Life Guards, and Royal Regiment of Horse Guards.
2. Royal Horse Artillery; but on parade with their guns this corps will take the right, and march at the head of the Household Cavalry.
3. Cavalry of the line.
4. Royal Regiment of Artillery.
5. Corps of Royal Engineers.
6. Regiments of Foot Guards.
7. Regiments of Infantry of the line.

⁽²⁾ With respect to the first fifers introduced in the army (Duncan, i. 136), see *British Army*, ii. 398.

department in Ireland was independent of that in England until 1674, when, upon the death of Sir John Byron, the appointment was made subordinate to the English office, and the Irish Master-Generals became deputies of the English Master-Generals. The accounts, however, of the Irish and British departments were kept perfectly distinct. At the Union the Irish Artillery was amalgamated with the English. It seems to have been in advance of the English in organisation for the field. Mention has already been made of its services during the Irish rebellion in 1798, and its conduct has been thus described:—

“It must be recorded, to the honour of the Royal Irish Regiment of Artillery, that, though exposed to every machination of the disaffected, and to the strongest temptation, they preserved throughout an unsullied character, and manifested on all occasions a true spirit of loyalty, zeal, and fidelity to her Majesty’s service and Government.”⁽¹⁾

To show the red-tapeism of the period, the Duke of Ormond, when Lord-Lieutenant in 1685, remonstrated at the persistence of the Ordnance Office of England sending over all ammunition, arms and habiliments of war, for the service of Ireland, whereby the King paid 30 per cent. more than for better articles which could be manufactured in Ireland, to the detriment of the general

⁽¹⁾ Duncan, i. 167.

revenue, and of the industries of that kingdom. (Clar., *Cor.*, i. 111.)

Clarendon, when he became Lord-Lieutenant, made a similar remark. "The pikes," he writes, "which came from England cost, by the time they came hither, each 5s. 6d.; they can be made here, and furnished into the stores, for 3s. 10d. each." (*Ibid.*, 242.)

On the 1st April, 1801, the Royal Irish Artillery was numbered as the 7th Battalion R.A., and it comprised the famed Battle-axe Company (now No. 2 Battery, 5th Brigade); which, having to be specially rewarded for its gallantry at the capture of Martinique, in 1809, chose from the trophies an axe and a brass drum. A brass eagle was affixed to the axe, which was always carried by the tallest man of the company, who in virtue of his office was permitted to wear a moustache. ⁽¹⁾

In 1861 the East India Company's Artillery was incorporated with the British. Never until the Mutiny had the presence of Royal Artillery been witnessed within the Presidencies.

Horse
Artillery.

Horse artillery is an institution in the British service dating only from 1793, when two troops were organised. Prussia had forestalled us by 34 years: Frederick the Great having equipped a battery of light guns in 1759; and France, at the suggestion of General Lafayette, was before us in this arm by one year only. ⁽²⁾ Although Captain

⁽¹⁾ Duncan, i. 419.

⁽²⁾ See a valuable article on Horse Artillery in *Proceedings of R.A. Inst.*, vii. 462, by Lieut. H. W. L. Hime, R.A.

Phillips had astounded every one at Warburg, on the 30th July, 1760, by bringing up his guns at a gallop and thus deciding the fortune of the day, yet no advantage was taken of this incident to accelerate the movements of field guns, until the improvement was forced upon us by the example of Republican France. Since then it has been generally understood that the artillery of an army in the field should be divided into two classes—one of them able to be manœuvred as swiftly as cavalry; the other, less swift, with heavier guns, intended for the support of infantry.

To show how modern ideas have grown as to the importance of artillery, Sir James Turner, writing in 1670, says: "Thirty pieces of Ordnance are a sufficient Train for an army of 40,000 men;" but 180 guns to an army of 60,000 men is now considered a low proportion.

At the end of the Peninsular War, the British Artillery, consisting both of horse and field batteries, attained an efficiency that elicited universal admiration. It is stated that the Iron Duke, through all his campaigns, never lost a gun.

The sister branch of military science (the first in importance) with officers educated at the same academy is the CORPS OF ROYAL ENGINEERS. Expert men to direct works of offence and defence have been a necessity in all times; upon their judgment the safety of an army greatly depends. ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ "Whereas it is very requisite and necessary for Our Service that some fitt and able persons should be constantly attendant at Our Office

The office is therefore one of the highest responsibility. Engineer officers there were, as we have seen, under the Board of Ordnance, and there were miners and pontoniers in the companies of artillery. A corps combining engineers, officers, and artificers, dates only from 1772, and the following *raison d'être* is given. In that year the works at Gibraltar were mainly executed by hired civilians, collected indiscriminately. They were of course not amenable to military discipline; in fact, they were not under any command at all. The only means of punishing them for irregularities was by reprimand, suspension, or dismissal; consequently the works progressed very slowly. Lieut.-Colonel Green, ⁽¹⁾ the chief engineer of the fortress, suggested the formation of a company of military artificers, as the only remedy for this unsatisfactory state of things. ⁽²⁾

Artificers.

A special company of artificers was thereupon raised in 1786, for service in Gibraltar. As these men were put under engineer officers, a royal warrant was issued, 25th April, 1787, to define the position of the corps. It was ordered that "when the officers of Royal Engineers should appear on parade

of the Ordnance, who are skilful and experienced in all manner of Fortifications and other things belonging to the art of an Engineer, We do authorise and require you to employ the said Captain Charles Lloyd as an Engineer in Our said Office of the Ordnance."

"To, &c., Lord Dartmouth,

"M.G. of Our Ordnance."

P.R.O. *Mil. Hist.*, 1602 to 1688, *Dom. Entry Book*,
2nd April, 1683.

⁽¹⁾ Afterwards General Sir William Green, Bart., K.C.B.

⁽²⁾ Connolly, *History of the Royal Sappers and Miners*, 1857.

without their men, they shall rank with the officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery; but when any detachment of Royal Military Artificers and Labourers take post, they are to be next to the Royal Regiment of Artillery, and upon their left; and the officers of the Corps of Royal Engineers are on such occasions to take post and fall in with such companies and detachments of the Royal Military Artificers and Labourers.”⁽¹⁾

The incorporation of this new corps into the army was strongly opposed in both Houses of Parliament, as militating against the principles of the Constitution, and the members were called upon to repel so alarming an innovation. Several country gentlemen declared that if the House should agree to put 600 Englishmen under martial law, merely for the paltry consideration of saving £2,000 *per annum*, it would be a betrayal of their constituents. It was strongly contended that the authors of the measure had been guilty of an illegal act, in raising a body of men without the consent of Parliament. In the Upper House it was opposed by the Duke of Manchester and other Peers, and the Duke of Richmond entered into a full explanation of the plan, of which he had been the author. The Bill, however, was passed.⁽²⁾

This grand corps now numbers (1st Jan., 1877) 4,181 effectives, at a cost of £294,618 for the year. It shares the mottoes and devices of the Royal Artillery. The officers remain as they were at its

(1) Duncan, ii. 4.

(2) *An. Reg.*, xxx. 123.

first establishment, independent of the regimental system, and are attached to companies as occasion requires. The title of Royal Military Artificers was changed on the 5th March, 1813, to Royal Sappers and Miners, and in October, 1856, to ROYAL ENGINEERS.

In consequence of the rebellious condition of the colony of Virginia, a battalion of one thousand men, formed into five companies of two hundred each, was despatched thither in October, 1676. The men were drafted from the old regiments as per list underneath, commanded by

Captain Herbert Jefferies (as senior officer in command)	}	King's Regt. Foot Guards.
Captain Picks		
Captain Matlow		Coldstreams.
Captain Charles Middleton		Duke of York's Regt.
Captain William Meoles		Holland Regt.

	Captains.	Lieuts.	Ensigns.	Serjeants	Drums.	Men.
Out of the 24 Comps. of the King's Regiment	2	2	2	4	—	168
„ 12 Comps. of the Coldstreams	1	1	1	2	—	84
„ Admiral's Regt.	1	1	1	2	—	59
„ Holland do.	1	1	1	2	—	49
„ Garrison Comps.						
At Portsmouth, Plymouth, Hull, Gravesend, Tower of London, and Windsor Castle	—	—	—	—	—	140
Drummers impressed by Drum-Major-General John Mawgridge for the occasion	—	—	—	—	15	—
Recruits raised by beat of Drum under a warrant signed by the King	—	—	—	—	—	500
Total	5	5	5	10	15	1000

(War Office Records.)

The battalion returned to England in June, 1678.

1677 is the date of the introduction in the British army of soldiers set apart and trained as grenadiers, *i.e.* in the art of throwing hand-grenades; ⁽¹⁾ an idea, as usual, tardily copied from the French, who had used them ten years before. A grenadier of the 1st Foot Guards is figured in Vol. II., p. 306 of this work; by it will be seen how heavily equipped these men were, and how necessary it was to select the strongest and largest for this service; hence the word grenadier has become a synonym for a tall person. Their distinctive clothing ⁽²⁾ was noticed by Evelyn, when he saw for the first time this "new sort of soldiers," at the camp at Hounslow, in June, 1678: "the coped crownes, like Janizaries, which made them look very fierce"—the prototype of the Bearskin—and their "yellow and red" coats, the object being to make them as imposing as possible. Subsequently a piece of fringed or tufted cloth was added to the top of the sleeve, to give an appearance of breadth, which afterwards

⁽¹⁾ "Charles R.—Whereas we have thought fit that two soldiers of each company now in the Tower, of the two regiments of Foot Guards, shall be trained and exercised by our trusty and well-beloved Capt. Charles Lloyd for the duty of granadiers; Our Will and Pleasure is that out of the stores within the Office of Our Ordnance you cause to be delivered unto the said Capt. Charles Lloyd," &c.

"Whitehall, 19th May, 1677.

"By his Majesty's command,

"WILLIAMSON."

(War Office Records.)

⁽²⁾ "Then let us fill a bumper, and drink to those

Who carry caps and pouches, and wear the looped clothes"—the words of the well-known march of "The British Grenadiers," a tune which Mr. Chappell says is two hundred years old. See *Collect. Nat. English Airs*, p. 57.

grew into the ornamental wings lately worn by grenadiers, fusiliers, and light infantry.

Their equipment is detailed in the warrant, dated 13th April, 1678, for delivering the following arms to the company of grenadiers of the Coldstream Guards, consisting of one captain, two lieutenants, three sergeants, three corporals, and one hundred soldiers, viz.:—"103 fuzees, with slings to each; 103 cartridge boxes, with girdles; 103 granadoe pouches; 103 bayonets; 103 hatchets, with girdles to them; 3 halberds; 2 partizans."⁽¹⁾ The men were doubtless already provided with swords, which, as before stated, were the private property of every soldier. The grenades weighed from three to four pounds each,⁽²⁾ and three of them were delivered to each man on service; he had also to carry rounds of ammunition for his fuzee, and to take care of his burning match, so that his duties were onerous. In the course of that year, 1678, a company of grenadiers was added to each of the existing infantry regiments. When hand-grenades went out of use, the name of grenadiers was retained, and their companies had the privilege of forming the right flank of their battalions, and being the stoutest men were the first brought forward for perilous assaults, and these companies of different regiments were often massed together for united action.⁽³⁾

⁽¹⁾ Mackinnon, ii. 275.

⁽²⁾ Majendie's *Treatise on Ammunition*, Part I., page 39. Two specimens of hand-grenades are preserved in the Tower collection, numbered "132 additional." App. p. 4 in Hewitt's *Official Catalogue*.

⁽³⁾ When Prince Edward (afterwards Duke of Kent) was ordered to storm Morne Tartisson and Fort Royal, in Martinique, on the 17th

The name is now preserved only in the Grenadier Guards, who were granted the distinction on the 29th July, 1815.

In the same year, a division of mounted grenadiers was added to each of the three troops of Life Guards, namely:—one captain, two lieutenants, three serjeants, three corporals, two drummers, two hautboys, and eighty privates to the King's troop; and to the Queen's and the Duke of York's each one captain, two lieutenants, two serjeants, two corporals, two hautboys, and sixty privates. It will be observed that the junior subaltern of grenadiers, horse and foot, was a lieutenant, and not a cornet or ensign, as no colours or standards were borne, a privilege granted to this new arm. These Horse-grenadiers were armed like the foot, and in the field acted as such. They dismounted, linked their horses, fired, screwed their daggers into the muzzles of their fusils, charged, returned their daggers, fired, and threw their grenades by ranks, the centre and rear ranks advancing in succession, through the intervals between the file leaders; they then grounded their arms, went to the right about, and dispersed; and at the "preparative," or beating to arms, they fell in with a huzza; they then slung their fusils, marched to

March, 1794, he placed himself at the head of his brigade of grenadiers and addressed them as follows: "Grenadiers! this is St. Patrick's Day; the English will do their duty in compliment to the Irish, and the Irish in compliment to the Saint. FORWARD, GRENADIERS!"

In commemoration of the important captures in the West Indies, anniversary dinners took place at the Senior United Service Club on St. Patrick's Day.

their horses, unlinked and mounted. ⁽¹⁾ The exercise of the dragoon differed very little from that of the Horse-grenadier, except as to that part relative to the grenade.

In 1693, the Horse-grenadiers attached to the three troops of Life Guards were embodied into one independent troop. In 1702, a troop of Horse Grenadier Guards was raised at Edinburgh, and attached to the Scots troop of Life Guards. In 1788, the only two existing troops of Life Guards, and the two troops of Horse Grenadier Guards, were united and formed into two regiments of Life Guards, and their former titles of troops of Horse Guards were dropped. ⁽²⁾

“Our Royal Will and pleasure is, that our first troop of Horse Guards shall bear the title of our First Regiment of Life Guards and our second troop of Horse Guards the title of our Second Regiment of Life Guards, and shall have the same precedence, respectively, in our service, which they now hold as troops of Horse Guards.”

“Given at our Court of St. James’s,
this 8th day of June, 1788.” ⁽³⁾

⁽¹⁾ *Treatise on Military Discipline*, 1684 (Lib. R.U.S. Inst.) See also Puysegur’s *Art de la Guerre*, i. 222, as to the adoption of Grenadiers by Louis XIV. In 1676 Louis formed a corps of *Grenadiers à cheval*.

⁽²⁾ At the same time the regiments of horse were reduced to the pay and establishment of dragoons, receiving the title of Dragoon Guards, except the eldest regiment, viz., the Royal Horse Guards (Blue). The following notice in the Obituary of the *Times* of April 5th, 1860, records the death of the widow of one who must have been about the last survivor of the H. G. G.:—“On the 28th March, at Abbots, near Honiton, aged 84, Sophia, relict of the late Richard Weeks, Esq., formerly Captain of the Horse Grenadier Guards, and of Green Park Place, Bath.”

⁽³⁾ In May. 1820. George IV. signified his pleasure that the Colonel

Although hand-grenades are no longer carried by grenadiers, the use of them is not discontinued; and they are kept in store at our great arsenals. The men of the Royal Engineers are practised in handling them, as will be seen from the following extract from the official *Instruction in Military Engineering*:—

“Grenades are small, spherical shells, intended to be thrown by hand from covered positions among masses of the enemy.

“For land service they weigh 3 ps.

“A strong man can, on level ground, throw a loaded 3 pr. grenade about 34 yards.

“Hand-grenading drill. Prepare to throw grenades,” &c.

(See *Hand-Grenading* in Vol. I., pt. v., p. 326.)

The correspondent of the *Times* with the Russian army (Sept. 24th, 1877), describing the engagement in the Shipka Pass on the 17th inst., writes:—

of the Royal Horse Guards should take the Court duty of Gold Stick in Waiting, in turn with the Colonels of the two regiments of Life Guards, and that that corps should also take its turn of London duty, the Life Guards having for some years ceased to attend the Court at Windsor, where the Horse Guards had continuously occupied the cavalry barracks.

At the Coronation, 19th July, 1821, the Life Guards appeared in bearskin grenadier caps, ornamented with the royal arms, and having a white plume of feathers on the left side, passing over the crown. Messrs. Carter, of Pall-Mall, who made them, have one remaining in their possession. In July, 1821, steel cuirasses were issued to the Household Cavalry.

1822. Orders were issued that the upper lip should not be shaved.

1829. Both regiments of Life Guards were ordered to wear flask-strings on the pouch-belts, the 1st regiment red, and the 2nd blue, and the Royal Horse Guards, blue.

“The Turks scaled the rocks in dense masses, hurling hand-grenades among our troops, and succeeded in driving back companies out of our front trenches.”

York and Monmouth.

There was naturally a jealousy between the Dukes of York and Monmouth. The latter had undoubtedly great personal advantages; he was young, handsome, ⁽¹⁾ popular in his manners, a Protestant, and a great favourite of the King. It had even been whispered at court that Charles intended to own him for his successor, by pretending a private contract of marriage with his mother, which intention, however, the King indignantly denied.⁽²⁾ Although the King after Albemarle's death had expressed his intention—on the Duke of York's representation—not to appoint another general, at least during peace, yet his fondness for his son induced him to give him the command of the troops without a commission, and this official circular was sent to all commanding officers:—

“Charles R.—

“In order to Our future service of Our Guards and established regiments of Horse and Foote, We^e

(¹) Thus described by Dryden under the name of Absalom:—

“Of all the numerous progeny was none
So beautiful, so brave, as Absalom.”

(*Absalom and Achitophel.*)

“Sa figure et les grâces extérieures de sa personne étoient telles que la nature n'a peut-être jamais rien formé de plus accompli.” (*Mémoires de Grammont*, i. 359.)

These advantages the Duke of York admitted him to possess, “though he had no great capacity,” which was equally true.

(²) *James II.*, i. 490. *Pepys*, iii. 31.

have thought fitt that the respective Colonells, or other officers in chiefe commanding them, shall from henceforth observe such orders as they shall receive from Our most deare and intirely beloved sonn James, Duke of Monmouth; and therefore Wee doe hereby signify unto you Our will and pleasure in that behalfe," &c.

"Given at Our Court at Whitehall, 30th March, 1674, by his Ma^{ties} command,

"ARLINGTON."

Although virtually Commander-in-chief, there was some limitation to his authority. In an order subsequently addressed to him it is stated:—

"As Wee have formerly given orders to the troopes of Our Horse Guards, and to Our established regiments of Horse and Foot, to observe such orders as they should from time to time receive from you," &c. * * * "And considering that Wee continue to issue from Ourselfe some kindes of warrants and military orders which did belong to the office of Our late Generall, and which hee was wont to dispatch and signe, Wee, being desirous to distinguish such warrants and orders from other affaires of Our crowne passing our signett and signe manuell, have thought fitt, and it is Our will and pleasure, that all such kindes of warrants and orders as formerly issued from George, Duke of Albemarle, our late Generall, deceased, in regard to that office, and which Wee continue to issue from Ourselfe, shall pass Our sign

manuall onley, and shall be countersigned by the Secretary to Our Forces as by Our command.

“By his Ma^{ties} command,

“J. WILLIAMSON.

“Whitehall, 7th day of Sept., 1676.”

Monmouth was not satisfied with his position; his ambition led him to seek the commission of General. “In order to compass his designs,” as his uncle wrote, “he endeavoured to make himself master of the Troops that were in England, that in case any accident should happen to the King he might have a push for the Crown.” He even sought the good offices of the Duke of York for his application, thinking that his Royal Highness might withdraw his opposition, now that the Test Act prevented his acceptance of it. But the Duke was as firm against it as ever. However, the King’s affection for his favourite son yielded to the request. The Duke of York having noticed in some late documents referring to Monmouth that the word “natural” had been omitted, and “son” only inserted, directed the attention of Sir William Jones, the Attorney-General, to the circumstance, and also desired Sir Joseph Williamson, the Secretary of State, through whose hands the commission would pass, to let him see it before he presented it to the King for signature. This, however, the latter neglected to do, and upon the King rising from a council and several commissions being laid before him, the Duke of York took an opportunity of the

King's temporary absence to look over them. He found that the word "*natural*" had been erased in all sentences where it occurred, so he took the commission to his brother, then walking in the garden, and told him the circumstances; "upon which the King took out his sizers, cutt the Commission in two, and order'd another to be prepar'd with the word '*natural*' in it." ⁽¹⁾

During the year 1677 the Parliament had repeatedly urged the King to enter into strict alliance with the Confederate Governments, namely, with the Emperor of Germany, the King of Spain, and the United Provinces. £600,000 had been granted for increasing the Navy, and a Bill had been passed (25th May) for recalling his Majesty's subjects from the service of the French King. Charles found fault with the Commons for encroaching on his prerogative of making peace and war, and declined to take any active steps until he received further supplies; but the House refused to vote any more money until the King had entered into the alliance.

Upon the marriage of his niece with the Prince

Marriage of
the Prince of
Orange.

⁽¹⁾ This document is preserved in the P.R.O. It is in the condition described:—

"Ch les R.

"To Our most entirely beloved sonne James, Duke of Monmouth, greeting. Whereas Wee have thought it expedient and for the safety of this Our Kingdome at this time when great armies and forces are raised and kept on foote by Our Neighbours, to constitute a Captaine Generall of all Our Troopes and Land forces whatsoever which are or shall be raised or employed in Our service within Our Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Towne of Berwick upon Tweed," &c.

"27th April, 1678.

"*Ex^{ra}*. W. JONES."

(S. P. D., Ch. II., April, 1678. *Patent Roll*, 30th, Ch. II. part 6, No. 5.)

of Orange (4th Nov., 1677), in the expediency of which he had induced his brother unwillingly to concur, he stood forward as the protector of Holland. He despatched Feversham to Paris with terms for concluding peace between the belligerents, and an intimation that if they were not accepted it would be tantamount to a declaration of war, and that he would then require the return of his subjects in the French service.

The conditions were declined, and the next post brought advice that in defiance of the season (Nov. 30th) the French army had taken the field, and that one of the border fortresses, St. Ghislain, was already invested.

On the 28th January, 1678, Charles hastily summoned the Parliament which he had prorogued, and addressed them on the circumstances. The Commons thanked him for expressing so great care of the Protestant religion, and for marrying his niece to a Protestant Prince, and besought him to accept no treaty with France but such a one as would prevent that country from offending her neighbours, and that he would stop all commercial relations with her during the war.

Charles vacillated, unwilling to displease Louis, who had already stopped the pension agreed upon by the late treaty, of which £50,000 was now due: a serious loss to the impecunious British King, but Charles hoped to arrange for future favours. Louis displayed surprising energy; and by the end of January, 1678, he had proceeded to Metz and

Namur, Mons was invested, and Ghent had capitulated.

On the 8th February the English Parliament resolved that 30,000 men, consisting of 26 regiments of Foot, each of 1,000 men, 4 of Horse of 490 each, 2 of Dragoons of 960 each, were necessary for the support of his Majesty's present alliances made with the States General of the United Provinces, for the protection of the Spanish Netherlands and lessening the power of France, and 90 ships of war. On the 18th, that one million be raised for enabling his Majesty to enter into an actual war against the French King.⁽¹⁾ Even the Duke of York turned against this favourite France, hoping in the event of war to obtain the active command of the army, and thereby to secure his brother's power, and to recover his own popularity.

To supply the men, twenty colonels undertook to raise each a thousand men in the short space of six weeks, and they did it, showing thereby either the poverty of the people or the attractions of a military life.

Churchill was sent over to arrange matters for the united action of the confederate commanders. Considerable additions were made to the existing regiments. The King's was augmented to twenty-

Troops for
Holland.

⁽¹⁾ Part of this sum was to be raised by poll-tax. (*Coms. Journs.*, ix. 445.) All persons exercising any public office or receiving any pensions or stipends from his Majesty were to be taxed. Monmouth made the following return of his income:—"A pension of £8,000 per annum; fees for Master of the Horse, £66 13s. 9d.; Justice in Eyre, £166 13s. 9d." (*S.P.O. Entry Book*, 41.)

eight, and the Coldstream, the Admiral's, and the Holland regiments to twenty companies, each of one hundred men. ⁽¹⁾ A battalion of the former, consisting of eight hundred men, under the command of their Lt.-Colonel, Lord Howard of Escrick, was sent on March 9th to reinforce the Spanish garrison of Ostend, ⁽²⁾ and four companies of the Coldstream followed on the 28th. Eight companies of the Holland regiment embarked at Harwich for Ostend, and four companies of the Duke's were also despatched thither. Two battalions of Guards ⁽³⁾ were ordered shortly after to march from Ostend for the defence of Bruges.

Monmouth was sent over in command of the troops, but he remained only a few days, being recalled by the King for some unexplained reason. On his arrival he issued the following:—

⁽¹⁾ These companies consisted of one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, three sergeants, three corporals, two drummers, and one hundred privates. They were "to be raised by beat of drum, and to show the warrant to the Lord Mayor before beating in the city." (Mackinnon, ii. 272.)

"We are recruiting all our old companys to one hundred each; and have given out orders for the raising of 24 new companys to make Lord Craven's, myne, and Lord Mulgrave's regiment 20 companys apiece."—Duke of York to Prince of Orange, Jan. 15, 1677–8. (Dalrymple, i. 197.)

⁽²⁾ Hamilton, i. 212. Thomas, Lord Howard (second Peer) died on service in September of that year (1678). He was succeeded by his brother William, of infamous memory, the suborned witness against Lord Russell and Algernon Sydney.

⁽³⁾ Twelve companies of the King's regiment are mentioned in "Stations," *App. Gren. Guards*, iii. 370, which was probably the number that eventually arrived. These and the four companies of the Coldstream would form the two battalions. The Duke writes: "We are sending twelve companies to Ostende," probably the Holland regiment and the four companies of his own, to supply the place of the Guards.

“Orders for his Majesty's subjects now in garrison at Ostend.”⁽¹⁾

“1. That no soldier be drunk, upon paine of severe punishment.

“2. That no soldier offer any money to his landlord, nor any of his family, nor demand any more than he pays for, on paine of death.

“3. That no soldier offer any affront to any religious person, on pain of death.

“4. That no soldier enter into any of the Churches or Monasteries, on paine of severe punishment.

“5. That no soldier go anywhere out of the town, upon paine of death.

“6. That no soldier be found out of his Quarters after the watch be set.

“7. That no soldier draw his sword in a private quarrel, upon pain of death.

“8. That whatever souldiers shall at any time meet the Sacrament in the street, either avoid it by going some other way, or be bareheaded whilst it passes.

“9. That officers and souldiers be carefull to behave themselves with respect to the officers, and civility to the souldiers of the garrison, upon paine of severe punishment.”

The Duke of York gives no account of these proceedings in his *Memoirs*, possibly being annoyed at not having the command; for in his letters to the Prince of Orange (see Dalrymple) he expresses his intention of accompanying the troops. On

(1) 3rd March, 1677-8. P.R.O. *Entry Book*, No. 52.

April 7th he writes that he is anxious about Bruges, which was then garrisoned "by four battalions of our old regiments, which we have no mind to lose." He believed that "the first thing that the French will do will be to besiege that place, and they would willingly venture to losing a thousand or two men, to take our old regiments." On the 19th, "We shall send immediately two battalions more thither, as you advise."

Equipment.

On the 1st May, four additional companies of the Coldstreams were sent over. No change had occurred in the equipment of infantry. For the eight new companies of the Coldstreams, the Ordnance Office was called upon to supply "8 partizans" (*for lieutenants*), "24 halberts" (*for sergeants*), "16 drums with sticks, 550 musketts, 274 pikes, and 550 collars of bandileers." Dated "17th Jan^y 167 $\frac{7}{8}$." ⁽¹⁾ Lord Orrery, writing in 1677, says:—"Our Foot Soldiers are generally two-thirds shot and one-third pikes, which I have often lamented; for methinks the pike should be at least one-half. Without dispute, the pike is the usefullest Weapon for the Foot." "the solid strength of the Infantry in a day of Battel." ⁽²⁾

The Horse were armed as before. An order, dated "15th Feb., 167 $\frac{7}{8}$," requires "carbines" (no swords are mentioned) "and Backs, breasts, and potts, for a newly-raised troop of our own regiment of Horse Guards." (Oxford's.) ⁽³⁾

⁽¹⁾ Mackinnon, ii. 272. ⁽²⁾ *Treatise on the Art of War*, pp. 24—8.

⁽³⁾ *Packer's Hist. R. H. G.*

But all this time war had not been declared against France; for Louis had skilfully intrigued both with the King and his subjects. Charles's non-intervention was purchased by the consideration of six millions of livres (£300,000) in a secret treaty, signed 27th May; and it was adroitly insinuated—not without marks of Gallic benevolence to the leaders of the popular party—that their King's military preparations were really directed against the liberties of his subjects. ⁽¹⁾

Both Houses of Parliament had persistently entreated the King to declare war at once. On the 25th May, the Commons addressed him to know the state of affairs; and stated that if he should see fit to enter into the war, in conjunction with his allies, they would assist him, but if otherwise (27th May), they would proceed to the consideration of providing for the disbanding of the army. The King's reply, delivered on the 28th, being considered evasive, the Commons resolved, *nem. con.*, on the 30th, that the forces raised since the 29th September last should be forthwith paid and disbanded. The King remonstrated, but the Parliament persisted; only extending the time for the disbandment to the 27th July, for those troops that were beyond the sea.

Mr. Powle, as chairman of a committee, reports

(¹) Dalrymple, i. 183. This author states (*App. Pt. i.*, B. i.) that Charles, two years before his death, came to know that Louis, in pretending to be his friend, had been intriguing against him with that part of his subjects which opposed him; and perhaps that the consciousness that he was unpopular at home, distrusted by foreigners, and betrayed by that very Prince in whose cause he had suffered, brought on the melancholy which was observed in him towards the end of his reign.

to the House, on the 3rd June, 1678, "that there were sixteen Regiments of Foot ordered to be newly raised since 29th Sept^r last; of which two were to consist of 2,000 men apiece, one of 600, and the rest of 1,000 men.

"That 3,000 of these men were to be brought hither out of France, which are not yet come over.

"That besides these, there have been raised thirty-five Companies of Foot, whereof two are sent to Jamaica; and eight companies of grenadiers, each of them consisting of one hundred men.

"That besides these, there have been raised 2,560 soldiers, for recruits to the four regiments that were before in the King's pay, and 1,100 men for recruits to several garrisons.

"That there were Four Regiments of Horse ordered to be raised, of 480 men each; all which were raised, except part of one Regiment, which was to be brought out of France, but is not yet come.

"That besides these, there were raised Three Troops of Grenadiers on Horseback, consisting of 80 men in one Troop, and 60 in the other two. That there was one Troop more, consisting of 60, raised, and sent to Guernsey and Jarsey.

"That there have been three regiments of Dragoons raised, each consisting of 640 men.

"That for the raising of every Company of Foot, there was £100 allowed by the King; for every Troop of Horse, £500; and for every Troop of Dragoons, £350.

“That the number of Soldiers (not including the Officers) intended to be raised, was 25,560 Foot, 2,260 Horse, 1,920 Dragoons, all which have been actually raised and taken into the King's pay, except the 3,000 Foot, and some part of a Regiment of Horse, which was expected out of France.

“The charge of levying of the Forces, and paying of them till the last day of May inclusive, amounts to £194,806 19s. 7d.

“The cloathing of the new-raised Foot at fifty-three shillings *per* man, amounts to £194,806 19s. 7d. That of the Horse, at £9 *per* man, to £18,270. Of the Dragoons at £6 10s. *per* man; of the Horse Grenadiers at £8 *per* man.

“The pay of these Forces and the Field and Staff Officers from the last day of May to the last day of June is £51,125 5s.

“To be deducted, the Off-reckonings of the Soldiers' pay, towards the discharge of their cloathing, viz.—Two-pence *per diem* for the Foot; Sixpence for the Horse, and Two shillings and sixpence *per* week for the Dragoons and Horse Grenadiers, till the end of May, amounts to £22,000. The Off-reckonings of the Soldiers' pay, for the month of June, amounts to £8,451.

“The total charge of the army, to the last day of June inclusive (the Off-reckonings deducted), amounts to £309,236 6s. 9d.

“In this account there is not included the two Trumpeters belonging to every Troop of Horse, which were wholly furnished at the officers' charge;

as also one pair of Kettle Drums to every Regiment of Horse; nor likewise the charge of the extraordinary cloathing of the Drum-Major to every Regiment, and of two Drums to every Company of Foot, as also of the Sergeants and Corporals, for which there was only 53s. allowed by his Majesty's Warrant, as to every other common Soldier; nor for two Drummers for every Company of Dragoons: nor for the Chests for the Surgeons: Neither is there anything reckoned for contingencies, nor for what the officers have expended for their own equipages beyond their allowance, which were made by his Majesty's Command." (1)

Charles
Incensed.

Louis having discovered that Charles had made a secret treaty with Holland, annulled the one he had contracted in the preceding month of May.(2) Charles was highly incensed at this, and became sincere for once; he required the immediate return of his subjects in the French army, and made great exertions for sending over additional forces to Flanders. A review of the troops was held at Hounslow, and it was on this occasion that Evelyn saw Grenadiers for the first time:—

“June 28.—Returned with my Lord (Chamberlain) by Hounslow Heath, where we saw the new-raised army encamped, designed against France, in

(1) *Coms. Journs.*, ix. 487. Mr. Clode (i. 63) cites this as “the first germ to be found, since the Restoration, of our present system of Estimates.”

(2) *Dalrymple*, i. 169.

pretence, at least ; but which gave umbrage to the Parliament."

On July 5th the Duke wrote to the Prince of Orange that upwards of 9,000 men had been landed in Flanders, and that if necessary more were ready to follow ; and again on the 19th : " We are sending over, as fast as we can, 2,000 horse and dragoons ; but till war be declared, we cannot let you have any of our foot to join your army."

The terms which had been offered by France to the allies were soon after accepted by the Dutch, who were desirous of peace, and dreaded equally to be abandoned by the unsteadiness of Charles, and by the factions of his subjects. Part of these terms were, that Louis should evacuate a great part of his conquests in the Spanish Netherlands. But this he now refused to do. It was therefore decided by England and the allies that unless France should agree to the terms within fourteen days, they should unite their forces to compel her.

On July 16th the Duke writes : " I received two days since your's from Vilvorde, by the which I see you were come to your army, and were resolved to see what could be done for the redeeming of Mons. I hope upon the intelligence you have had of their being able to hold out some time, that you will not yet hazard anything. His Majesty has commanded me to tell you that he will put in readiness what troops can be spared from hence, besides those that are already in Flanders, to join with you in case the French do

not conclude the peace in the time prefixed, being resolved to prosecute the war vigorously, if they will not evacuate the towns; and that no time may be lost, in case it must be war, the Duke of Monmouth is to go from hence on Sunday for Bruges, and I shall be ready to go over with them myself, if occasion be. We have now ready in Flanders fourteen battalions of foot, as many of which shall be ready to march at a day's warning, if the peace be not made, as you and the Spaniards shall think fit; besides which we have two battalions of foot more, and 3,000 horse and dragoons to be embarked from hence by the end of next week.”⁽¹⁾

England Out-
witted.

On the very last day the French Commissioners consented to execute the Treaty, provided it were signed at once. The Deed was prepared without delay, and, before midnight on that 11th August, signed by the Plenipotentiaries of France and Holland only, thereby excluding the other parties.⁽²⁾ France had triumphed, outwitting them all. “Thus the Peace,” says Temple, “was gain’d with Holland. His Majesty was excluded from any fair pretence of entering into the war. Spain was necessitated to accept the terms that the Dutch had negotiated for them, and the Peace of the Empire (Germany) was left wholly at the mercy of France. The conduct of

⁽¹⁾ Dalrymple, i. 240.

⁽²⁾ “We were very much surprised to hear this day by an express from Nimeguen that the peace was signed only by the Dutch and French, without the Spaniards, and that the mediators had refused to sign, though offered by (to?) them, to have their hand in such a separate peace. I believe it was what you did not expect no more than we,” &c. (Duke of York to Prince of Orange, Aug. 4, O.S., 1678. *Ibid.*, 243.)

France has been admirable throughout. Our counsels and conduct were like those of a floating island.”⁽¹⁾

The ink was scarcely dry before there was fought one of the most sanguinary actions of the war. Of the few fortresses remaining in the possession of the Spaniards, Mons was the first in strength and importance. It was blockaded by the French; on the east of it lay the French garrison of Binch, on the west that of St. Ghislain; the country to the south also was in the hands of the enemy. Early in the spring a strong French corps had formed an entrenched camp on the north, and intercepted the communication with Brussels. They also held two fortified positions in front of the camp, the abbey of St. Denis, and the ruins of a fortress called then Casteau,⁽²⁾ between Ath and Mons. The Prince, anticipating that the signature of the Treaty might confirm the position to the French, resolved to make a desperate attempt to relieve it. Temple had a suspicion of what might happen, for he remarked to

⁽¹⁾ *Memoirs*, i. 470.

⁽²⁾ The following notice, which appeared in the *Times* of February 3rd, 1873, repeating the names and places nearly 200 years after, is curious:—

“Col. John Peter Hamilton, K.H., formerly of the Scots Greys, died on the 28th ulto., at Bodleyfryd, Wrexham, aged 95. The venerable Colonel, who has been on the Retired List since 1819, served as a Cornet in the Scots Greys, in the army commanded by the Duke of York in Flanders and Holland during the campaign of 1794, and was present in the action near Cateau, and subsequently at the siege of Nimeguen. He had been promoted to a Lieutenancy in the Greys by the Duke, for conveying very important despatches, under difficult and perilous circumstances, to the Prince of Orange, then commanding the Dutch army.”

the Mareschal D'Estrades that, "for aught he knew, we might have a Peace signed and a Battle fought, both in one day." The Mareschal replied, "There was no fear of it; for the Duke of Luxemburg had written him word that he was so posted that if he had but ten thousand men, and the Prince forty, yet he was sure he could not be forced."⁽¹⁾

Severe Action.

It was a hazardous enterprise, and boldly planned. The Prince hastily collected an army, and marched to attack the Duke of Luxemburg's camp. The Dutch were commanded by Count Waldeck; the six British regiments in their service by the Earl of Ossory; and the Spaniards by the Duke of Villa Hermosa. Monmouth arrived in the morning of that day, and nobly did duty as a volunteer. The Anglo-Dutch regiments behaved most valiantly, and their losses were fearful; "the greatest part of their men, twenty-two officers killed, and thirty-seven wounded."⁽²⁾ "The battle raged from two in the afternoon till nine at night."⁽³⁾ Monmouth says, "At night the French withdrew and crossed the river, leaving the Prince master of the field;" but it seems to have been no victory, but a drawn fight. The next morning the Prince received official advice of the Peace having been signed, and sent notice of it to Luxemburg. The Prince and the Duke met on the field afterwards, and the French crowded to see one so much talked about, and the

⁽¹⁾ *Memoirs*, i. 470.

⁽²⁾ "Monmouth's Journal," in *Entry Book*, No. 52, P.R.O.

⁽³⁾ *Historical Account of the Heroick Life of Monmouth*, p. 71.

author of so desperate a conflict as that of St. Denis,⁽¹⁾ and then the armies separated. But the conduct of the Prince in bringing on such an action on the eve of peace has been severely criticised. Mons was relieved, and the communication with Brussels was set free; but whether these objects could not have been obtained without the fearful sacrifice of life is a question. "In fact," says an eye-witness, the Earl of Castlehaven (*Memoirs, App.* 171), who held a command in the Spanish army, "it was generally believed that the Generals on both sides had the peace in their pockets when they fought."

(1) Temple, i. 471. The Duke of York wrote from London, Aug 12th, 1678:—" * * * I am very much pleased for what you have done, for by what I hear from all sides, it was a very bold and vigorous action, and as bravely carried on. I am very glad you are so well satisfied with Lord Ossory and his Majesty's subjects, and that they behaved themselves so well. I am very glad my nephew, the Duke of Monmouth, had the good fortune to be with you; we hope to hear that you have carried your point and relieved Mons." (*Dalrymple*, i. 244.)

The Duke here applauds the conduct of the Prince, but there is a contradiction in his *Memoirs*, doubtless written later: "The Prince of Orange made a rash attempt upon the French army at St. Denis, out of mere spite; he had the articles (of the Peace) in his pocket before the fight began, so that the lives of four or five thousand men were sacrificed to the violent ambition of one man." (i. 511.)

CHAPTER VII.

TITUS OATES'S CONSPIRACY—MEASURES AGAINST PAPISTS—DISTURBANCES IN SCOTLAND—TWENTY-FIRST R. S. FUSILIERS—GRAHAM AT DRUMCLOG—BATTLE OF BOTHWELL BRIDGE—MONMOUTH DISGRACED—DUKE OF YORK IN SCOTLAND—PARLIAMENT AT OXFORD DISSOLVED—ARGYLE'S CONVICTION AND ESCAPE—REGIMENTS RAISED IN SCOTLAND—BARRACK SYSTEM—GUARD-HOUSES—ATHLETIC SPORTS—CHELSEA HOSPITAL—TANGIER—FOURTH KING'S OWN—THE ROYAL DRAGOONS—SECOND QUEEN'S—REVIEW—DEATH OF CHARLES II.

King Mis-
trusted.

THE suggestions insidiously circulated by the French emissaries, as to the real motives of Charles in raising a large army, had vividly impressed the English nation. There is not the slightest doubt that the people had every reason for mistrusting the King. Anxious as they had been for a war with France, and fully alive to the importance of supporting the independence of Holland and Flanders, they feared to entrust him with troops, or with the money for raising them; they rigidly refused any increase to the King's income, and adhered to their resolution of the 28th May, 1678, "that the troops raised since the 29th September last should be speedily disbanded;" and on the 3rd July the money for that purpose, £206,500, was voted.

The army, however, was not disbanded. The confederate powers were still disquieted, Holland

alone being tranquillised by her separate treaty. The French troops made incursions into the richest parts of Spanish Flanders; ⁽¹⁾ the English Guards were retained in garrison for the defence of Brussels; and other British regiments were stationed elsewhere in important places.

On August 13th the infamous Titus Oates disclosed his pretended Popish plot, which, although discredited by the King, took such hold of the public mind that he, fearing the consequences that might ensue to his brother's succession, thought it necessary to take action on the occasion. Believing that actual war with France would still be gratifying to the people, ⁽²⁾ and being disappointed in not receiving from Louis the money promised for his neutrality, he sent additional troops to Flanders, and endeavoured, by the strongest promises of assistance, to induce the Dutch to disregard the treaty which their Plenipotentiaries had so lately signed on their behalf, and to dissuade the other powers from acceding to it.

Oates's Plot.

⁽¹⁾ Temple, i. 476.

⁽²⁾ The Prince of Orange was amazed at this sudden decision. "Was ever anything so hot and cold as this Court of yours?" said he to Temple. "If this Dispatch had come twenty days ago, it had chang'd the face of affairs in Christendom, and the war might have been carried on till France had yielded to the Treaty of the Pyrenées, and left the world in quiet for the rest of our lives; as it comes now, it will have no effect at all." He then asked of Temple what he could imagine was the cause of it? He replied that he was truly in perfect ignorance of it. "Some months after," Temple writes, "I was advis'd that the business of the Plot, which has since then made so much noise in the world, was just breaking out; and that the Court, to avoid the consequences that it might have upon the ill-humour of Parliament, which seemed to rise chiefly from the Peace, his Majesty resolved to give them the satisfaction they had so long desired, of entering into the war." (*Mems.*, i. 474.)

On August 20th the Duke of York wrote to the Prince of Orange: "The troops designed for Flanders will begin to embarke on Monday next, and, wind and weather permitting, may all be landed at Ostend by the end of that week. They are composed of 27 troops of horse, 60 in each troop; 12 troops of dragoons, of 80 a-piece; and two battalions of foot, of 9 companies in each. The Earl of Feversham goes over to command them."

Orders against
Papists.

The rancour against, and the fanatical dread of, the Romanists induced the King to yield to the popular excitement. He issued a Proclamation that "Whosoever shall make discovery of any officers or soldiers of His Majesty's Horse and Foot Guards, who having formerly taken the Oaths of Allegiance, hath since been perverted, or shall be perverted, to the Romish religion, or hear mass, shall have a reward of £20 for every such discovery." ⁽¹⁾

Orders were also issued by Monmouth to the Commissary Generals, not to muster any Popish recusant, and to all Colonels of regiments forthwith to dismiss all and every such officers and soldiers. ⁽²⁾ The Life Guards were also directed to exercise a close and more constant attendance on the person of the Sovereign. A captain, a subaltern, and two

⁽¹⁾ *London Gazette*, No. 1,353.

⁽²⁾ "A List of Persons dismissed from my regiment of Foot being Roman Catholics." Whitehall, 20th day of July, 1678. (P.R.O. *Entry Book*, No. 41.)

"The Company of Grenadiers in my regiment of Foot to pass muster as complete, both officers and souldiers, upon producing certificates that the officers have received the Sacrament and taken the oaths accordingly as is required." Nov. 9th, 1678. (*Ibid.*)

corporals were to attend him whenever he walked out, and the captain as well within doors as without, excepting only in the royal bed-chamber; ⁽¹⁾ and when the King went to Newmarket, he was not only escorted by the usual detachments of Life Guards, but also by the Horse Grenadiers. ⁽²⁾

On the 21st October the King delivered a speech to the Houses of Parliament, and said:—

“The part which I have had this summer in the preservation of our neighbours, and the well securing what was left of Flanders, is sufficiently known and acknowledged by all that are abroad.

“And though for this cause I have been obliged to keep up my troops, without which our Neighbours had absolutely despaired; yet both the Interest and Honour of the Nation have been so far improved by it, that I am confident no man here would repine at it, or think the money raised for their disbanding to have been ill-employed in their continuance: And I do assure you, I am so much more out of purse for that service, that I expect you should supply it.”

⁽¹⁾ Pegge's *Curialia*, vol. i., part ii., p. 78.

⁽²⁾ “I desire you to furnish Brigadier-General Wood with a large tent or two capable to lodge fifty men, for ye use of ye Granadiers that are ordered to attend the King att Newmarkett.

“I am, Sir, yr affectate Servant,

“MONMOUTH.”

“I desire you will cause one hundred and fifty wheight of carbine bullets to be deliver'd to Serjeant Silver, for the use of the three troopes of granadeares that are to attend his Matie at Newmarkett.

“Given under my hand, the 27th day of Sept., 1678,

“MONMOUTH.

“To the Rt Honble Sr Tho. Chichely, Kt.

Master-Generall of his Maty's Ordnance.”

(P.R.O. *Entry Book*, No. 41.)

Then, as a sop to the perturbed state of public feeling, he adds:—

“I have been informed of a Design against my person by the Jesuits, of which I shall forbear any opinion, but I will leave the matter to the Law; and in the mean time will take as much care as I can to prevent all manner of practices by that sort of men, and of others too, who have been tampering in a high degree with Foreigners, and contriving how to introduce Popery amongst us.”

The King reminded the Parliament on the 26th November that he had been forced to employ the money for the disbandment of the army for its continuance, and that he found himself in great difficulties. But the Commons proceeded to consider a Bill for raising the Militia, and (on the 27th) for continuing them on duty. An address was also presented (28th) for removing the Queen and her family from Whitehall; she being accused as a party to “the most desperate and traitorous Design and Conspiracy against the life of your most sacred Majesty.” Charles properly did not reply to it. ⁽¹⁾

Peace Signed.

In Flanders no conflict took place. The Dutch were quite willing to encourage Charles to engage in a war with France, provided they kept free of it, and the Spaniards—crippled in every way—took the same view. At the end of January, 1679, a general peace was signed at Nimeguen, and Christendom, after five years' hostility, found rest for

⁽¹⁾ *Parl. Hist.*, iv. 1,050, and *Coms. Journs.*, ix. 549.

awhile. The British troops were recalled to England; the old regiments were reduced to their former state; and a Bill was passed, granting £206,463 to his Majesty for disbanding all the Forces raised, or brought over from foreign parts into this kingdom. But the Commons "having the last Sessions granted a sum of money for the Disbanding the Army, and intrusted it to the Exchequer, when not one man was disbanded, cannot think it safe to trust the money to the Exchequer again." ⁽¹⁾

Shaftesbury and his party took every advantage of the madness of the people to embarrass the King and his ministers, and were enabled to procure the passing of an Act "for the more effectual preserving the King's government, from disabling papists from sitting in either House of Parliament." (30 Car. II. s. 2, c. i.) The design of this was to prepare the way for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne, and this was prevented only by the dissolution of the Parliament (Jan., 1679), which had sat for nearly eighteen years.

Exclusion of
Duke of York.

During this period Charles made a feeble attempt to provide some security for himself at home, by forming two hundred of his disbanded officers into a company of guards, with a view to have officers ready if he should afterwards raise troops. But on the earnest representations of one of his ministers, the Earl of Essex, that nothing would be more fatal to the King's interests than that a belief

Proposed Body
Guard.

(1) *Coms. Journs.*, ix. 563.

should get about that he intended to govern by an army, Charles abandoned the project.⁽¹⁾

Gold and
Silver Stick.

Also in this year (1679) the Captain of the Life Guards in waiting carried an ebony staff with a gold head, engraved with his Majesty's cypher and crown, the next captain who might relieve on occasions an ebony staff and silver head, and the two Brigadiers ebony staves headed with ivory. (See Chamberlayne's *Anglicæ Notitia*.) This was the origin of the "gold stick" and "silver stick" in waiting now in existence, held by the Colonels of the Household Cavalry: "Gold Stick" being considered responsible for the safety of the Royal Person, and "Silver Stick" being his assistant.

The Corporals of the Life Guards were at this time commissioned officers, their rank being that of "eldest lieutenants of horse." The practice of calling them brigadiers became general, although they continued to be styled Corporals in their commissions. In warrants and orders, when their names are mentioned, they are styled Captains. The custom for Brigadiers to carry staves when attending at Court was abolished in the reign of George III., probably when the two regiments of Life Guards were constituted in 1788. In *Add. MSS.*, No. 5,752, p. 247, there is preserved a bill for providing the canes or staves for officers of the Duke of York's Troop of Guards.

The new Parliament was to assemble in forty days, viz., on March 6th. Before it met, it was

(1) Dalrymple, i., App., ch. iv.

considered expedient that the Duke of York should absent himself for awhile, and he retired to Brussels. Before leaving, he requested an order in writing from the King to leave the Kingdom, and that his rights should not be sacrificed in his absence to the pretensions of Monmouth. The order was at once given in the form of a most affectionate letter, and Charles, having assembled the council, declared most solemnly "that he had never given nor made any contract of marriage, nor was ever married to any woman whatsoever but his wife, Queen Catherine, then living." For greater security he subscribed this declaration, commanded the councillors present to attest its execution with their signatures, and ordered the instrument to be enrolled in Chancery.⁽¹⁾

This new Parliament proved more hostile to the Court than the preceding one, and under the pretence of securing the life of the King from the hands of the Roman Catholics, referred most offensively to the members of the Royal Family. Such was their heat that on the 25th March Edward Sackville, a loyal gentleman, an officer of the King's Regiment of Guards, a member of Parliament for East Grinstead, was expelled the House for having dishonoured and aspersed the King by asserting his disbelief in the evidence of a Popish plot."⁽²⁾ A

New Parlia-
ment.

⁽¹⁾ *James II.*, i. 541. Lingard, viii., ch. i.

⁽²⁾ *Coms. Journs.*, ix. 576. He was committed to the Tower, but discharged from custody on expressing penitence in a petition (1st April, 1679).

There were two officers of the same name in the King's Regiment of Guards, distinguished apart only by the designation of "senior" and "junior." In the nominal roll of officers (Hamilton, iii., *App.*,

Bill to exclude the succession of the Duke of York was frustrated by a prorogation, followed by a dissolution.

The Cove-
nanters.

During these transactions, serious disturbances had occurred in Scotland, where the Covenanters, particularly in the Western shires, continued to defy the law, the proceedings of the English Parliament having doubtless encouraged their insubordination. The penal laws had been cruelly enforced by the Council of Scotland, under the direction of Lauderdale, Lord High Commissioner, once a violent Covenanter, but afterwards a zealous Cavalier, and created a Duke in 1672. On the 13th January, 1674, the English Commons addressed the King to remove him "from his councils for ever, being a person obnoxious and dangerous to the Government," and this was repeated on May 10th, 1678. One of the most active agents of the Executive in Scotland was John Graham of Claverhouse, ⁽¹⁾

pp. 427, 430), one was a Lieutenant in Wentworth's regiment, 1656, the other an Ensign in the amalgamated regiment, 26th Sept., 1667. One was probably the 2nd son of the 5th Earl of Dorset, but as he was born 1641, he would have been only 15 in 1656, so he was presumably the "Edwd. Sackville, jun." The *Merc. Pub.* of Feb., 1661-2, probably alludes to him when Charles, Lord Buckhurst, Edward Sackville, Esq., his brother, and others were committed for trial for killing an innocent man, mistaking him for a thief. (See *Pepys' Diary*, 20th Feb., 1661-2, and 1st July, 1663.) This Edward Sackville died in 1678, which is the year assigned for his retirement from the regiment (Collins's *Peerage*, Dorset, ii. 169). Edward Sackville, senior, being also M.P. for East Grinstead, was no doubt a relative. His outspoken sentiments in the House of Commons would be gratifying to the Court party, and thus his subsequent appointment of Governor of Tangier, and his promotion to the Lieut.-Colonelcy of the Coldstream Guards, are accounted for.

⁽¹⁾ In Forfarshire. His military career commenced as a volunteer in the French army; subsequently he entered the Dutch service. For

whose name consequently acquired an evil reputation.

In 1677, on the reports of the Council of Scotland of the imminence of insurrection, the King offered the aid of his English forces ; some troops of Horse were ordered to be drawn to the border, and Viscount Granard, Lieut.-General of the army in Ireland, was directed to move troops to the coast, so as to be ready to cross to Scotland if required. The Council, however, adopted a method of their own to suppress the disorders, which was to call upon the Highland lairds to assemble their clans, and to march down and occupy "those places which were infested with rebellious practices." "The sending down the barbarous Highlanders," writes Wodrow, "to waste and depopulate the Western shires of Scotland, where the greatest number of Presbyterians were, is a black part of this history."⁽¹⁾ In this way about 8,000 men were collected. Amongst the largest contributors of retainers were the Marquess of Athole, who sent 2,400, and the Earl of Breadalbane 1,700.⁽²⁾ This "coming of the Highland host" is the subject of grievous and exaggerated complaints in the Presbyterian writers, but the men were dismissed to their homes "laden with spoil,

"Highland
Host."

his gallantry at the Battle of Senef, in 1674, the Prince of Orange promoted him to a Captaincy in his Guards. On the Lieut.-Coloneley of one of the Anglo-Dutch regiments becoming vacant, he applied for it ; but another being preferred, he left Holland in disgust, and returned to Scotland in 1677, "burning with resentment." (Mackay's *Life of Lieut.-General Hugh Mackay, of Scowry*.)

⁽¹⁾ *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, ii. 370.

⁽²⁾ Burnet, ii. 137.

after living at free quarters," in February, 1678, but it does not appear that "one Whig lost his life at their hands."⁽¹⁾ The regular forces in Scotland at this time consisted of the troop of Guards of 160 men, commanded by the Marquess of Athole, and the regiment of Foot Guards of two battalions, under the Earl of Linlithgow; these are stated to have been composed chiefly of gentlemen.⁽²⁾ Thomas Dalziel was the General in command of the troops in Scotland.⁽³⁾

Upon the withdrawal of the Highlanders, the "Conventiclers" waxed bolder, and the Government proposed that additional forces should be raised. "We shall expect," writes Lauderdale, in the name of the King, on May 7th, 1678, "a speedy and exact account of what number and quality of troops

(1) Law's *Memorials*.

(2) *Memoirs of Captain Creighton*, in Swift's works. The Dean, having listened to his adventures, published them; as illustrative of the time they are valuable; he was a violent anti-presbyterian, and his details are not always accurate.

(3) Of Binns, born about 1699. Had served in the Scots forces under Charles I. Taken prisoner at the Battle of Worcester, 1651, and confined in the Tower, from which he escaped and went to Moscow, obtained a commission in the Russian army, and served against the Tartars; for his gallantry and military talents was promoted to the rank of General. At the Restoration he returned to Scotland, and was appointed Captain of an independent troop of Horse, Colonel of a regiment of Foot, and a Lieut.-General. He appears to have been naturally of a severe disposition, not improved among the Cossacks and Tartars. He was in chief command of the Scots forces employed in suppressing the appeal to arms in 1666. On the reduction of the army in 1667 his troop and regiment were disbanded. In 1678 he was made Captain of an independent troop of dragoons, and Commander of the Forces. He was superseded by the arrival of Monmouth in 1679. An account of his strange appearance and eccentricities will be found in Creighton. (See also note to Kirkton, *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, p. 226.)

may be necessary on this occasion.”⁽¹⁾ The “Convention of Estates” was ordered to assemble at Edinburgh on the 26th June, when £1,800,000 was voted for military expenses. Upon which the Council resolved to draw out 5,000 foot, and 200 horse militia, out of the national force of 22,000 men, granted by the Act of Parliament in 1661,⁽²⁾ to be kept up for twelve months; also to raise three independent troops of horse, and three of dragoons of sixty men each besides officers, and a regiment of foot consisting of eight companies, “to secure the Kingdom from foreign invasions and intestine commotions.”

This regiment of Foot became the future 21st Scots Fusiliers.
ROYAL SCOTS FUSILIERS. Its first Colonel was the Earl of Mar, whose commission is dated 23rd Sept., 1678. He was one of the great lairds empowered “to raise and convocate the Highlanders within their respective bounds,” so that it is likely that he raised his soldiers from among his retainers. Whether they were equipped at first as fusiliers is not mentioned; probably they were not. The first regiment of English fusiliers (now 7th Royal Fusiliers) was not formed till 1685. It was designed especially for the protection of the guns of the artillery, a necessity apparently suggested to James II. after the Battle of Sedgemoor, but which would scarcely arise in Scotland, where there were very few guns (except Mons Meg, which, by the

⁽¹⁾ Wodrow, ii. 486.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, 493. See also *Militia*, ante, p. 147.

way, burst when fired in honour of the visit of the Duke of York in 1680), and where the ordinary duties of the troops were simply those of a police.

The regiment was present at the Battle of Bothwell Bridge; it also assisted in the suppression of Argyle's insurrection in 1685.

In 1686 Mar resigned his commission, and was succeeded by Thomas Buchan, who was Lieut.-Colonel of Claverhouse's regiment of horse.

In 1688 the regiment left its native country for the first time to support the tottering authority of James II. When the Prince of Orange gained the ascendancy, the various corps of the British army were ordered to be distributed in country quarters. Amongst these is enumerated the "Regiment *late* of Colonel Bochan, Witney, Oxon."⁽¹⁾ Buchan, being a staunch adherent of the Stuart family, had no doubt thrown up his commission; and Francis Fergus O'Farrell was appointed to the colonelcy by William III. on the 1st March, 1689.⁽²⁾ It is probable that about this time the XXIst obtained their designation of Fusiliers; for Cannon, in his "Records," states that "in a list of the army in Flanders, in 1691, the regiment is styled 'O'Farrell's Fusiliers;' and its uniform was red, faced and lined with the same colour;" and in a "Short History of Standing Armies in England, printed in the year MDCXCVIII.,"

⁽¹⁾ *London Gazette*, No. 2,413, from Dec. 24th to 27th, 1688.

⁽²⁾ "For recruiting Collonel O'Farrell's Regiment of Foot," 13 companies of 60 men each. 19th March, 1689. (*Marching Orders*, Vol. 5, P.R.O.)

among the Forces in Scotland enumerated is "Rews⁽¹⁾ (*sic*) Fusiliers." O'Farrell served with his regiment in the Netherlands during the campaign of 1694, and was made Governor of Deinse on the Lys. He was dismissed the service by sentence of a general court-martial for having surrendered the place to the Marquis de Feuquières, in 1695, without firing a shot.

In 1694 a board of General Officers assembled by order of the King, to decide upon the rank of regiments. It was resolved to give precedence from the date of their first arrival in England, or when they were first placed upon the English establishment. The Scots Fusiliers therefore took rank only from 1688, and when in George II.'s reign regiments were numbered, it became the XX¹st.

At the Union of England and Scotland in 1707, the regiment, in lieu of "Scots," was styled North British Fusiliers. Sir John Cope, in his evidence before alluded to in 1715, calls them the "Scotch Fuziliers" (p. 5). In what year the regiment became "Royal" is uncertain; but in 1751 it had obtained the blue facings, and is described as "Twenty-first Regiment, or the Royal North British Fusiliers."⁽²⁾

In 1877 it was, by the Queen's permission, to

(¹) Archibald Row, Colonel 1st Jan., 1697, Brigadier-General 1703, led his regiment with distinguished gallantry at Blenheim (13th Aug., 1704), where he fell mortally wounded.

(²) Warrant regulating the Standards, Colours, Clothing, &c., and Rank or Number of Regiments of Cavalry and Infantry. Dated 1st July, 1751.

be styled in future XXIst or ROYAL SCOTS FUSILIERS.

Drumclog

Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, an object of popular hatred, was brutally murdered by a party of Covenanters at Magus-muir on May 3rd, 1679. Graham, who had been appointed to the command of one of the troops of Horse, having, in pursuance of orders, attacked with a very inferior force ⁽¹⁾ a great assemblage at Drumclog, on June 1st, was defeated with a loss of several of his party, including his Cornet, a relative of his own, whose body was atrociously mangled. He himself was exposed to great danger, the horse he rode being desperately wounded with a scythe; but he and the remnant of his men escaped to Glasgow. The numbers and boldness of the insurgents being increased by this success, they followed thither, but they were driven away next day by the troops there, consisting of Captain Francis Stuart's ⁽²⁾ troop of dragoons, and a battalion of the Scots Guards.

Militia called out.

On June 5th a Proclamation appeared, calling out the Militia, both horse and foot, "forasmuch as great numbers of persons in some of the Western

⁽¹⁾ Creighton says (p. 181), "Clavers's men did not exceed 180, and the rebels were 8,000 or 9,000." This is probably an exaggeration.

A monument has been erected at Drumclog in commemoration of the struggle. The fight took place on a farm of that name in the upper part of the parish, about two miles to the east of Loudon Hill, in Ayrshire. The victors celebrated their triumph in a rude ballad, which Scott has preserved in his *Border Minstrelsy* (Cadell's ed.), ii., pp. 206—225.

⁽²⁾ Grandson of the Earl of Bothwell; was a private gentleman in the Scots Horse Guards, appointed to the command of one of the newly-raised troops of dragoons, of which Creighton became the lieutenant.

shires had risen in open rebellion ;” and on the 7th another was issued, calling out the infantry, only of certain shires, omitting the Western, and requiring “the heritors and freeholders who are fencible men to attend the King’s host,” and to repair to certain specified rendezvous, with so many of their servants as they can bring, in place of the horse Militia. Linlithgow wrote at the same date to the Chancellor (the Duke of Rothes), that he had intended to have marched that morning to Stirling with his forces, but hearing that the rebels had taken possession of Glasgow, and were reported to be about 8,000 foot and horse, if not more, he had judged it best to await reinforcements from England.⁽¹⁾

On the 11th June Lauderdale wrote from London to the Chancellor that one regiment of foot was to be presently embarked to go by sea to Berwick, together with cannon and ammunition ; and that two more regiments of foot were to be presently levied, one to be commanded by the Lord Cavendish,⁽²⁾ and the other by Lord Grey of

⁽¹⁾ Wodrow, iii. 73—84.

⁽²⁾ The proposed appointment of these two noblemen is an evidence of the influence of Monmouth with the King. Cavendish was an intimate friend of Lord Russell, a violent opposer of the Minister Danby, and a member of the Committee of the Commons for preparing “a Bill to hinder Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament.” He, however, expressed extreme veneration for the Duke of York, acquitted him of all participation in the Plot, and thought his loyalty to his brother unexampled ; but his being next in succession was a dangerous encouragement to the Papists. (*Parl. Hist.*, iv. 1,030.) The King, however, as a matter of conciliation, placed him in his new Privy Council in April, 1679. He was son of the Earl of Devonshire, joined the Prince of Orange on his landing, and in 1694 was created Marquess of Hartington and Duke of Devonshire.

Wark.⁽¹⁾ Also three regiments of horse, under the command of the Dukes of Monmouth and Albemarle, and the Lord Gerard, together with eight hundred dragoons and likewise three troops of grenadiers, "and these last are to march towards Scotland to-morrow." He also informs him that the King had appointed the Duke of Monmouth to command all his forces, "so long as his Grace shall remain in Scotland, and as the cost of this expedition is very heavy, upwards of five hundred pounds sterling a day, his Majesty expects that the utmost diligence will be used to suppress the rebellion."⁽²⁾

These corps above-named were part of the newly-raised forces, all of which were subsequently disbanded. None of the English troops, however, seem to have been despatched, or at all events to have reached their destination, with the exception of the troops which had been quartered at York, and which were ordered "to draw down to the border," as the battle of Bothwell Bridge put an end to the armed insurrection.

"Lord Frecheville's Troop of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, (Oxford's), to march to Berwick, 10th June.

"Sir Francis Compton's, Do., on the 12th June, 1679.

(¹) A zealous Exclusionist concerned in the Rye House Plot; sent to the Tower, but escaped to the Continent, married a daughter of Lord Berkeley, and eloped afterwards with her younger sister. Commanded Monmouth's cavalry during the insurrection of 1685.

(²) Wodrow, iii. 87.

"Captain Carr to march with three troops of grenadiers to Berwick."

"To the Commissioners of Musters.—You are to pass and allow the Rolls of the said Troops, viz.:—Lieut.-Col. Mayne's Troop of Horse, Major Oglethorpe's, Capt. Skelton's, Capt. Ivory's, Capt. Cannock's, and Capt. Frodsham's troop of dragoons, 27th Aug., 1679."⁽¹⁾

On the 18th June Monmouth arrived in Edinburgh, having performed the journey from London in three days—quick travelling in those times. He is stated never to have slept otherwise than in his coach on the way.⁽²⁾ He marched at once to the westward in pursuit of the rebels. On Sunday, the 22nd, the advanced guards of the Royal forces were at Bothwell, in Lanarkshire, within a quarter of a mile of the stone bridge of that name which spans the Clyde. The rebels were encamped on the south side of the river, on Hamilton Muir, and had posted an advanced party to dispute the passage of the bridge, in case it should be attempted. A deputation waited on the Duke, and made the following demands:—The free exercise of their religion under their own Presbyterian ministers, a free Parliament, and an indemnity to all who were under arms. A Deputation.

⁽¹⁾ Monmouth's *Order Book*. P.R.O. *Entry Book*, No. 58, headed "Troops to be sent to Scotland."

⁽²⁾ *Historical Account of the Heroick Life of Jas. Duke of Monmouth*, 1683. Waller, in his *Occasional Poems*, alludes to this:—

"Swift as Jove's Messenger, the Wingéd God,
With sword as potent as his charming rod,
He flew to execute the King's command."

(On the Duke of Monmouth's Expedition to Scotland in 1678.)

Monmouth listened to them very patiently, told them he had received no special instructions on these matters, but assured them on his honour he would do his utmost to obtain these concessions; but he could come to no terms till they laid down their arms, and betook themselves to his mercy, that they might return to their friends; but that he must be informed in half-an-hour at farthest what was their decision; at the same time he moved up his army towards the bridge.

Bothwell
Bridge.

The commissioners carried back this message; but a debate and controversy arose. Robert Hamilton (son of Sir Thomas, of Preston and Fingalton), who had assumed the general command, was against any accommodation, and others were opposed to laying down their arms. The Horse and Dragoons were posted near the bridge. Linlithgow, at the head of his regiment of Scots Guards, marched up with the train of artillery to force the bridge. The rebels were drawn up in two bodies half a mile apart; the one, the weaker of the two, near the bridge, and the other near their camp in the Park. They were about six or seven thousand strong. A body of two or three hundred men were appointed to hold the bridge. These fought valiantly till their ammunition failed, and on their sending to their general for ammunition or fresh men well provided, he ordered them to retire upon the main body. Another account, just quoted, says that the fire of the royal guns so galled them that they retreated. Monmouth then ordered the troops to pass over the

bridge. They flung the barricades of stones and cart-wheels into the river, possessed themselves of the rebels' one gun, and marched on to attack the main body. It was short work, for the rebel leaders and the Horse fled from the field, the Foot broke and ran, excepting a body of 1,200 men who surrendered themselves. About four hundred were killed in the field.⁽¹⁾ Many of the fugitives ultimately escaped by sea and took refuge in Holland, the asylum of the disaffected.

It seems to have been Monmouth's intention to deal mercifully with the insurgents. Even Wodrow, so bitter a partisan, admits his clemency, exercised possibly in accordance with instructions from the King, probably to serve his own views, and increase his popularity.⁽²⁾ For at a later period—perhaps even then—he and his political friends certainly looked for aid from the malcontents of Scotland.

Monmouth shortly afterwards returned to England, and was received everywhere with almost royal honours. The King met him at Windsor with the greatest affection. He was at the zenith of his

(1) An engraving is given in Wodrow (Burns's ed., 1838) of the Battle of Bothwell Bridge, from an original painting by J. Wyck, at Dalkeith House.

(2) Creighton says that after the action at Bothwell Bridge, Dalziel arrived at the camp with a commission renewed to be Commander-in-Chief, and that he told Monmouth publicly that he had betrayed the King; and that had his (Dalziel's) commission come a day sooner "these rogues should never have troubled his Majesty or the kingdom any more" (p. 188). This, however, does not seem to be the fact, considering the King's subsequent flattering reception of Monmouth, nor does the Duke of York allude to it.

popularity. In August the King fell sick, and Monmouth journeyed repeatedly from London, where his military duties detained him, to Windsor.⁽¹⁾ Taking advantage of the illness, the Duke of York hastened *incognito* to the bedside of his brother. Charles received him most affectionately, and must then have perceived the formidable position that Monmouth occupied. The ministers also represented the inconvenience that might arise from the continued absence of the heir to the throne, while Monmouth remained at home at the head of a faction, ready to seize the crown in the event of demise; and the person of the King of Great Britain might be detained by a foreign prince. Charles, therefore, informed his son that circumstances required the resignation of his office of Lord General,⁽²⁾ and the other offices of state which he held, and his withdrawal for awhile to the continent. It was also thought best that the Duke

(¹) "My Lord,—I thought myself obliged in this conjuncture, as well as for the King's service as for the satisfaction of your lordship and the City of London, to give you an account of the present condition of his Majesty. This morning he found himself very ill, and was taken with two fits of vomiting; by the advice of his Physitians he was let blood, and hath since had some rest, and waked in a sweat, which still continues upon him, and he feels himself eased nearly. It is the opinion of his Physitian that his distemper may turn into tertian ague. I shall not fayle every day to give your Lordship a faithful account of what alteration shall happen during his Majesty's illness, &c.—MONMOUTH.

"Windsor, 26th Aug., 1679.

"To the Rt Hon^{ble} the Lord Mayor, &c."

(*Entry Book*, No. 58, P.R.O.)

(²) "Upon Thursday, 11th Sept., the Duke of Monmouth coming from Windsor to his house at the Cockpit near Whitehall, was pleased to declare to several of his friends that it had pleased his Majesty to take his commission of Lord General from him." (*Dom. Intell.*, No. 21.)

of York should return to Brussels until matters looked more opportune at home. It was therefore agreed that the Duke of York should send a petition to the King, ⁽¹⁾ to ask leave to make his residence in Scotland, which was to be granted. Accordingly the Duke proceeded to Edinburgh, where he arrived on December 4th, and was received with the respect due to his rank. He was escorted by a troop of the regiment of Horse Guards, relieved by another at Grantham, and Lord Freschvill's troop to take up the duty from York to the borders. ⁽²⁾

No sooner had the Duke of York started on his journey, than Monmouth returned from Holland, and bells and bonfires testified the public satisfaction. ⁽³⁾ The King declined to see him, and ordered him to leave the kingdom; but Monmouth removed only from the Cockpit to his house in Hedge Lane. ⁽⁴⁾ Charles was very much displeased, and took every office from him, appointing the Duke of Albemarle to be Captain of his troop of Life Guards; the Earl of Mulgrave to his government of Hull, and the Lieutenantcy of the East Riding; and the Earl of Chesterfield to his office of Warder and Chief Justice in eyre of all his Majesty's forests, &c., on this side the Trent, and the Mastership of the Horse the King put in commission. He also ordered Sir Thomas Armstrong, a lieutenant of that troop, to

Monmouth
Returns.

⁽¹⁾ *London Gazette*, No. 1,449.

⁽²⁾ *Dom. Entry Bk. Mil.*, 1679 to 1683.

⁽³⁾ Evelyn, ii. 138.

⁽⁴⁾ Now Whitcomb Street. See Aggas's Map of London. (Cunningham.)

be dismissed from the service.⁽¹⁾ In 1680 the Duke of York obtained the King's permission to return to London, to look after his own interests, but shortly afterwards (June 26th) he was presented by the Earl of Shaftesbury and others as a Popish recusant.

Last Parli-
ament.

On March 21st, 1681, a new Parliament—the last in Charles's reign—was ordered to assemble at Oxford, in order that it might be removed from the factious atmosphere of London. It was thought prudent that the Duke should be absent at this time, and he returned to Scotland as Lord High Commissioner⁽²⁾ the day before Parliament met. The King proceeded to Oxford in great state, with a formidable escort of horse and foot guards.⁽³⁾

The Commons, however, were not overawed; many of the members were accompanied by bodies of horsemen, with ribbons in their hats, on which were inscribed "No Popery." In fact, "the preparations which were made on all sides looked as though the debates were to be managed rather by force than by argument," wrote the Duke of York; and he goes on to say that "His Majesty was only

(1) M.P. for Stafford, and was a violent Exclusionist. Late Lieut.-Col. of one of the newly-raised and disbanded regiments, the Queen's Regiment of Horse. Concerned in the Rye House Plot, fled into Holland, was given up, condemned by Jeffreys without a trial, and executed 1684, his head being set up over Temple Bar. (Evelyn, ii. 341.)

(2) *London Gazette*.

(3) "On Friday last (4th March) nine score of his Majesty's Horse Guards are ordered to be ready to attend his Majesty to Windsor, and the Foot Guards to go on Wednesday for Oxford, and the rest of the Horse Guards on Thursday." (*The Protestant Domestic Intelligence*, No. 103.)

perplexed about Coll. Russel, whose fidelity he doubted, and therefore had proposed to my Lord Thanet" (late a captain in the King's Regiment of Guards, just succeeded to the title) "to buy his regiment, which he at first agreed to, but after declined on pretence that the King's not going on with the reforms at Court, as had been projected, was a discouragement for honest men to venture; the Duke would have recommended the Earl of Mulgrave, but the King was prepossessed against him, so was forced to respite that matter for the present." ⁽¹⁾ It is probable from the liberal sentiments entertained by the House of Russell that such was the case, without, however, casting any imputations on the loyalty of the Colonel of the King's regiment.

The same measures were resumed in the new A Revulsion. Parliament as in the old—the Popish Plot and Bill of Exclusion—but the King, who had just concluded another pension treaty with Louis, perceiving that there were no hopes of a compromise, ventured, after a session of seven days, on the decisive step of a dissolution. But it became evident by the manner in which it was received by the country that native loyalty revolted at the exclusion of the rightful heir, and at the wild scheme of setting up a bastard in his place. The old cavalier party, the great majority of the landed gentry, the clergy and the Universities, almost to a man, began to draw together, and to form in close array around

⁽¹⁾ *James II.*, i. 667.

the Throne.⁽¹⁾ The King, feeling his hands thus strengthened, took steps against the leaders of the Opposition, and Shaftesbury fled to Holland. The Duke of York, naturally, felt his hopes revive. His letters to the Prince of Orange disclose the lamentable view he had taken of matters at home;⁽²⁾ he had even gone so far as to express to Barillon that, if necessary, he would defend his interests by a civil war from Scotland and Ireland.⁽³⁾ On the 8th November, 1680, the intriguing King of France wrote thus to his ambassador:—"If you see him (the D. of Y.) resolved to support himself by means of Scotland and Ireland, you may assure him that in that event, I will not refuse him secret supplies."⁽⁴⁾ These intentions they both afterwards had an opportunity of fulfilling.

The Duke of York was well satisfied with his reception in Scotland, and doubtless calculated upon the loyal sentiments of the Scotch aristocracy to aid him in time of need. In a letter, dated 14th December, 1680, he writes: "I live here as cautiously as I can, and am very careful to give offence to none, and to have no partialities, and preach to them, laying aside all private animosities, and serving the King his own way."⁽⁵⁾ His words, however, were fairer than his practice. Soon after his arrival he held a Parliament, at which a test was imposed,

(1) Macaulay's *Review of Macintosh's Hist. of the Revolution*.

(2) Dalrymple, i., App. to ch. iv., pp. 297-309.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 346.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 351.

(5) *Ibid.*, i. 332.

binding all subjects not to attempt any alteration of the Government in Church or State. It was very generally accepted, but the Earl of Argyle⁽¹⁾ objected. He was summoned before the Council, where he explained the sense in which he was willing to take it. But the Duke was intent on his destruction, and he was tried and found guilty of the capital offence of treason and leasing-making; but he escaped from the Castle of Edinburgh,⁽²⁾ before the confirmation by the King of the sentence (which was afterwards pronounced), viz., death and forfeiture, he reached London after a dangerous ride, and then took refuge in Friesland.

Argyle's conviction caused great anxiety to the Exclusionists, with regard to their future fate. He had been eminent for his loyalty, and it showed that no past services would be accepted as atonements for want of obedience to the Duke's will. Moreover, the Duke procured from the Scotch Parliament an Act, whereby it was declared to be high treason to maintain the lawfulness of excluding him from the succession.⁽³⁾ Therefore they perceived that a civil war would be inevitable, if he should be settled on the throne of one kingdom, and excluded from that of the other. Lord Stair, Fletcher of Saltoun, and many others, consulting for their safety, banished themselves to Holland.

(1) Archibald Campbell, son of the Marquess executed in 1661.

(2) "Under the disguise of a page, and holding up the train of Lady Sophia Lindsay, his step-daughter (? daughter-in-law), and sister to the Earl of Balcarras." (Fountainhall's *Decisions*, i. 167.)

(3) Dalrymple, i., Pt. iv., B. i., p. 11.

The Duke's administration in Scotland was a repetition of the policy pursued by Lauderdale (who was removed from office in 1682). Wodrow asserts that he attended at the tortures inflicted on prisoners, but Dalrymple, who had examined the records of the Privy Council, could find no reason for this imputation.⁽¹⁾

In this year (1681) it was resolved to increase the standing forces of Scotland, presumably at the suggestion of the Duke of York, as he was present. Three additional troops of horse were added to the three existing ones, and formed into a regiment, of which Claverhouse was appointed Colonel;⁽²⁾ and three troops of dragoons were added to the three existing, which were also constituted into a regiment under the name of Royal Scots Dragoons, with Lieut.-General Dalziel as Colonel.⁽³⁾

⁽¹⁾ Wodrow, iii. 253. Dalrymple, i., Pt. i., B. i., p. 13.—Burnet makes a similar statement: "When any are to be struck in the boots, it is done in the presence of the Council, and upon that occasion almost all offer to run away. The sight is so dreadful, that without an order restraining such a number to stay, the Board would be forsaken. But the Duke, while he had been in Scotland, was so far from withdrawing that he looked on all the while with an unmoved indifference, and with an attention as if he had been to look on some curious experiment. This gave a terrible idea of him to all that observed it, as of a man that had no bowels nor humanity in him." (*O. T.*, ii. 428.)

"The boots consisted of four pieces of wood, very firmly fastened together, so as to form a kind of box capable of admitting the leg. Into this were inserted moveable staves, between which and the box a wedge was driven, so as to squeeze or compress the leg to almost any degree, according to the number of strokes given to it." (*N.* in Wodrow.)

⁽²⁾ His commission as Colonel of a regiment of horse and Captain of a troop therein, was in the possession of the late Miss Stirling Grahame of Duntrune.

⁽³⁾ 25th Nov., 1681. Millan's *Succession of Colonels*, A.D. 1740. (*Lib. Un. Ser. Inst.*)

It was amidst scenes of intestine violence and religious persecution that they were called upon to act until 1685, when a somewhat wider field of operations was opened to them during Argyle's short-lived insurrection. When Monmouth's rising seemed more dangerous, the Scotch forces were ordered to march to the south, but they had scarcely crossed the border when the battle of Sedgemoor put an end to the rebellion, and they were ordered back to their former quarters.

In October, 1685, Dalziel died, and Lord Charles Murray, second son of the Marquess of Athole, who had commanded one of the independent troops of Dragoons, succeeded him. In August, 1686, he was created Earl of Dunmore.

In September, 1688, the Scotch army was marched to England, in consequence of the announced landing of the Prince of Orange, and on the 1st of October they crossed the Tweed; the foot under Major-General James Douglas, who was now Commander-in-chief and Colonel of the Scots Guards, marched by Chester; the cavalry under Claverhouse, now a Major-General, by York.⁽¹⁾ On the 1st of November this and other regiments upon which James thought he could especially rely, were ordered to take up quarters in London; the Scots Dragoons were billeted in Southwark. On the 10th they were ordered to Salisbury, where all the army was

(1) "On the 15th Oct. I received some 700 Scotch horse and dragoons into this garrison (York). They had orders to march southwards after three days' stay." (Reresby, 406.)

assembled under Lord Feversham, and from thence to Reading. On the 12th Graham was created Viscount Dundee. At this time one of Douglas's battalions of the Scots Guards went over to the Prince⁽¹⁾. The forces were then ordered to meet the King at Uxbridge, where he proposed to fight the Prince; but when they arrived there, the Earl of Dumbarton received a letter from the King, stating that he had gone away, and had no further service for the army; upon which, with the view of returning to Scotland, Dundee marched them to Watford.⁽²⁾ The townspeople there spread a report that the Prince was approaching, upon which hasty preparations were made to attack him; but a messenger arrived with a letter from the Prince to Dundee, requesting him to keep his men together, and to remain there till further orders. The Scots Dragoons was subsequently ordered by the Prince to Islip, in Oxfordshire. Dunmore⁽³⁾ declined to serve under the Prince, and so the Lieut.-Colonel, Lord Kilsyth, marched the men to Congleton, in Cheshire, where they remained until William was proclaimed King. Sir Thomas Livingstone,⁽⁴⁾ who had commanded one of the Anglo-Dutch regiments, was appointed Colonel. He promoted Creighton to the command of a troop, his Captain, Sir Adam

(1) Creighton, p. 219.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Dundee also quitted the service. His regiment of horse received orders on the 1st Jan., 1689, to march to Newcastle (*Marching Order Book*), and it was shortly afterwards disbanded.

(4) Created Viscount Teviot in 1696.

Blair, having thrown up his commission, and the regiment was ordered to Edinburgh. Dundee proceeded to raise the Highlanders in favour of James II., and a design was formed by some of the officers of the Royal Scots Dragoons to bring over the regiment to the same interest. The plot was detected, and Kilsyth, Creichton, and some other officers were arrested. The charge against Kilsyth was not established, but Creichton was committed to close custody, and, believing that his life was in jeopardy, made his escape to his native Ireland, where he resided for the rest of his days. After the removal of the disaffected officers, the regiment remained loyal to the new *régime*. It was quartered at Inverness, when "Bonnie Dundee" attacked Major-General Mackay in the Pass of Killiecrankie on the 27th of June, 1689, and fell mortally wounded in the hour of victory. ⁽¹⁾ For-

⁽¹⁾ A contributor to the *Antiquary* (1873), iv. 289, states as a proof that Dundee did not die on the field that a despatch written by him the day after the battle, in which he alludes to his wound, and expresses hopes of his recovery, is preserved in the Bodleian, and was published in Macpherson's *Original Papers*, 1775. Scott, in his *Tales of a Grandfather*, says :—

"Observing the stand made by the two English regiments, he galloped towards the clan of Macdonald, and was in the act of bringing them to the charge, with his right arm elevated, as if pointing to the way of victory, when he was struck by a bullet beneath the armpit, where he was unprotected by his cuirass. He tried to ride on, but, being unable to keep his saddle, fell, mortally wounded, and died in the course of the night."

After receiving his wound he was carried to the house of Blair-Athole, about two miles and a half from the field of battle, and he was buried in the church of Blair. His remains—or the supposed ones—were removed and deposited in the Episcopal Church of St. Drostan, at Deer, Aberdeenshire, where a brass bears the following inscrip-

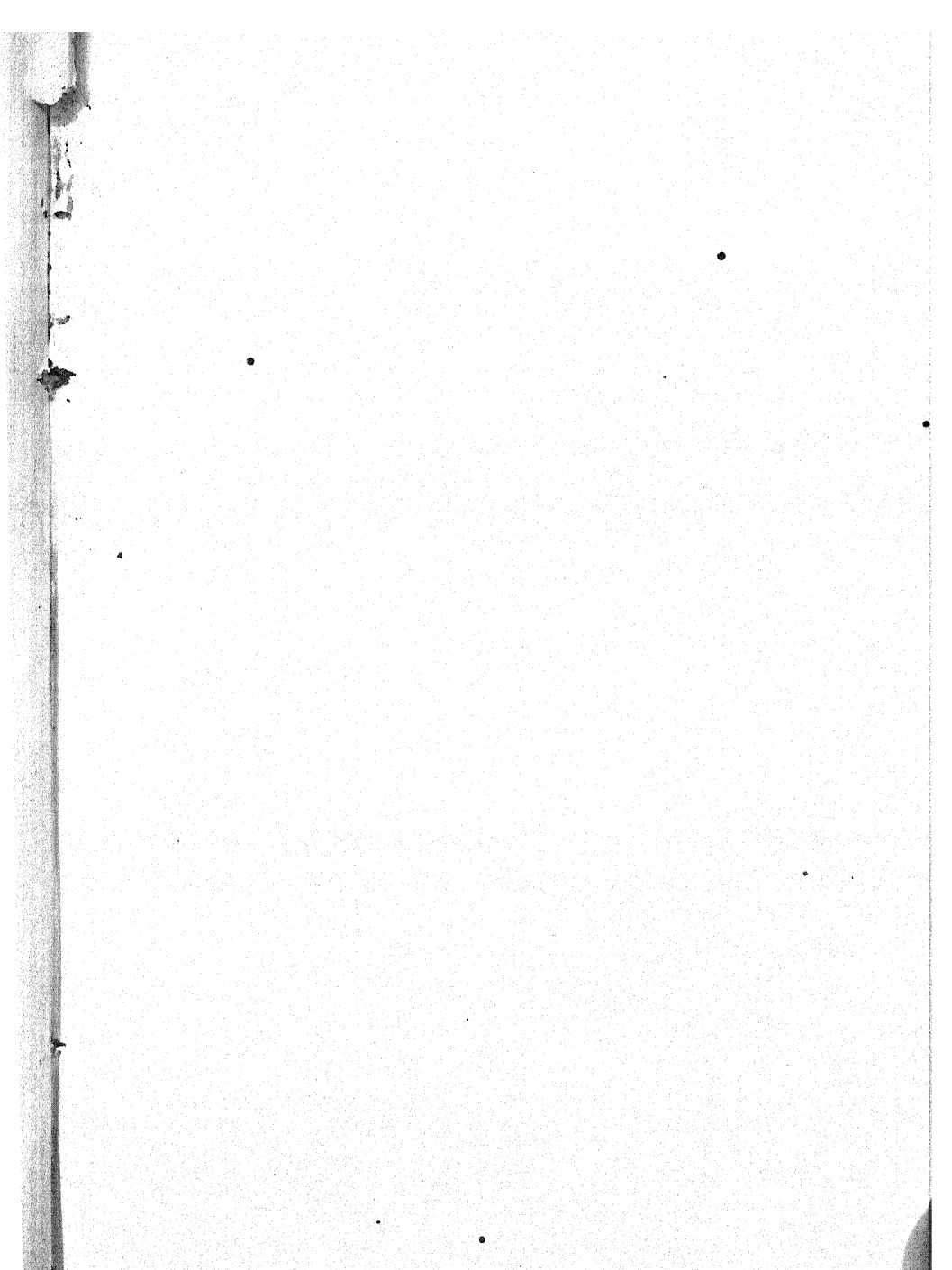
tunately, the Royal Scots Dragoons were not commanded to take any part in the murder at Glencoe, although their Colonel, then a Brigadier-General, was commanding the troops in Scotland at the time, and the orders were issued by him. He was, however, exonerated by the report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the case in 1695.

In 1692 a royal warrant confirmed the designation of the ROYAL REGIMENT OF SCOTS DRAGOONS, and in 1694 the regiment was ordered on foreign service to take part in the war with France. It remained abroad until the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, when it returned to Scotland. The future career of the regiment down to 1839 is recorded in Cannon's *Annals*.

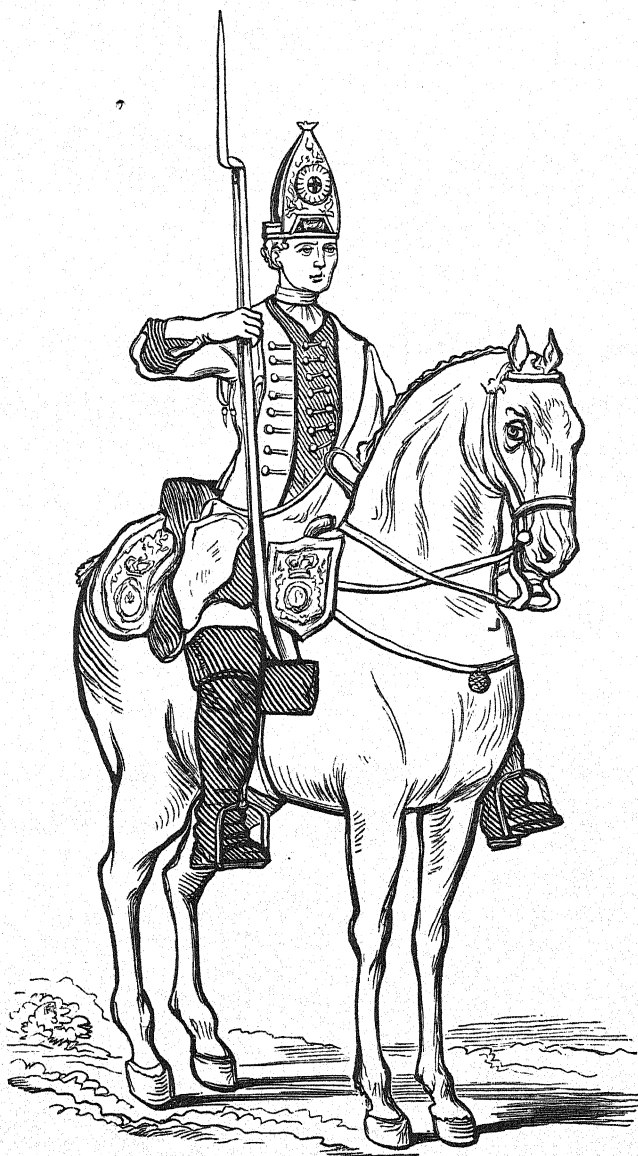
It is remarkable that the oldest regiments of the infantry and cavalry are Scotch. In 1694 a board of general officers, assembled to decide the rank of the several corps, gave precedence to the English regiments, and the Scotch and Irish took rank in the British army from the date of their first arrival in England. There being three regiments of English Dragoons raised previously to 1688, when the Royal Scots Dragoons were first placed on the English establishment, this regiment consequently obtained

tion:—"✠ Sacred to the memory of John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, who died in the arms of victory, and whose battle-cry was 'King James and the Church of Scotland.' ✠"

The impetuous rush of the Highlanders suggested to Mackay the substitution of the ringed for the plug bayonet. See *British Army*, II. 322.



No. 3.



North British Dragoons, 1742. (From B.Mus. 142, E. 14.)

rank as Fourth Dragoons. But in 1713, proof having been adduced that the Royal Scots Dragoons crossed the border and entered England in June, 1685 (at the time of Monmouth's rebellion), when there was only one regiment of dragoons on the English establishment (First Royals, raised 19th November, 1683), the Scots Greys obtained rank as 2nd Dragoons, so that they are in every way entitled to their motto, "SECOND TO NONE." The Second Dragoons have been distinguished not only for gallantry in the field and good conduct in quarters, but also as being the only regiment in the British army mounted on grey horses, and the only cavalry one now wearing grenadiers' caps.⁽¹⁾ The date of the first of these distinctions is uncertain. Cannon says that no official records have been discovered referring to the colour of the horses; but he assigns the year 1702 as the probable year of their introduction, because "in the journals of this period the regiment is styled the 'Grey Dragoons,' and on other occasions the 'Scots Regiment of White Horses,'" without, however, quoting any authorities. In 1699 appears the first published account of the English troops of Life Guards being mounted on black horses.⁽²⁾ The practice of mounting *corps d'élite* on horses of one colour was not unusual on the Continent. D'Auvergne mentions "two troops of

(1) The Fifth Royal Irish Dragoons, disbanded in 1799, wore grenadier caps. The Life Guards and Royal Horse Guards were supplied with bear-skin caps, the former with a white feather, the latter with a red one, in 1821, and again in 1833.

(2) *The Post-Boy*, November 11, 1699.

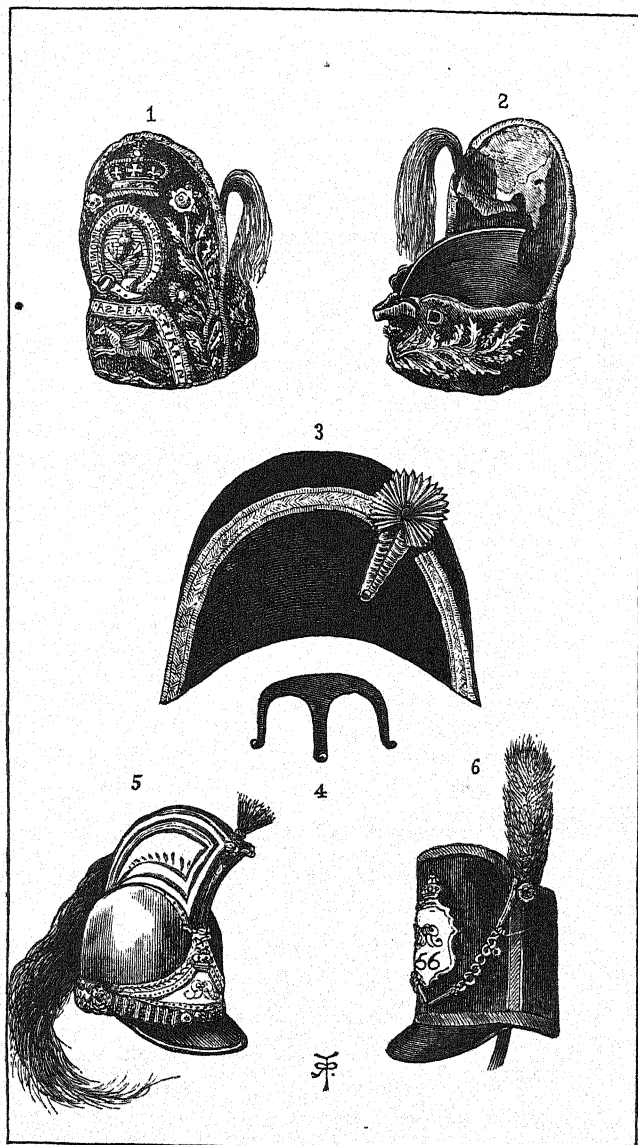
Hanoverians of his Highness's Guard, one upon grey and the other upon bay geldings."⁽¹⁾ But regiments were, at this period, called after their Colonels; thus the *London Gazette* for June 24th to 28th, 1703, announces "about 80 recruits for the Lord Tiviot's Reg^t of Dragoons." In 1706 a Cornet was appointed to "Lord Stair's regiment of the Scotch Greys."⁽²⁾ Patten, in his "History of the Rebellion of 1715" (p. 11), says: "The Forces which his Grace (Duke of Argyle) commanded were part of Lord Portmore's,⁽³⁾ commonly called the Scots Gray." In Millan's "Succession of Colonels," published 1742, the regiment is designated as "The Royal North British Dragoons."

With respect to the grenadier caps, Cannon suggests that the regiment might have been equipped as horse-grenadiers at their formation, inasmuch as at that time no horse-grenadiers were added to the troops of Scots Guards, as had been done to the English troops of guards. There appears, however, no reason why they should always have been called dragoons if they were horse-grenadiers; but Grose—

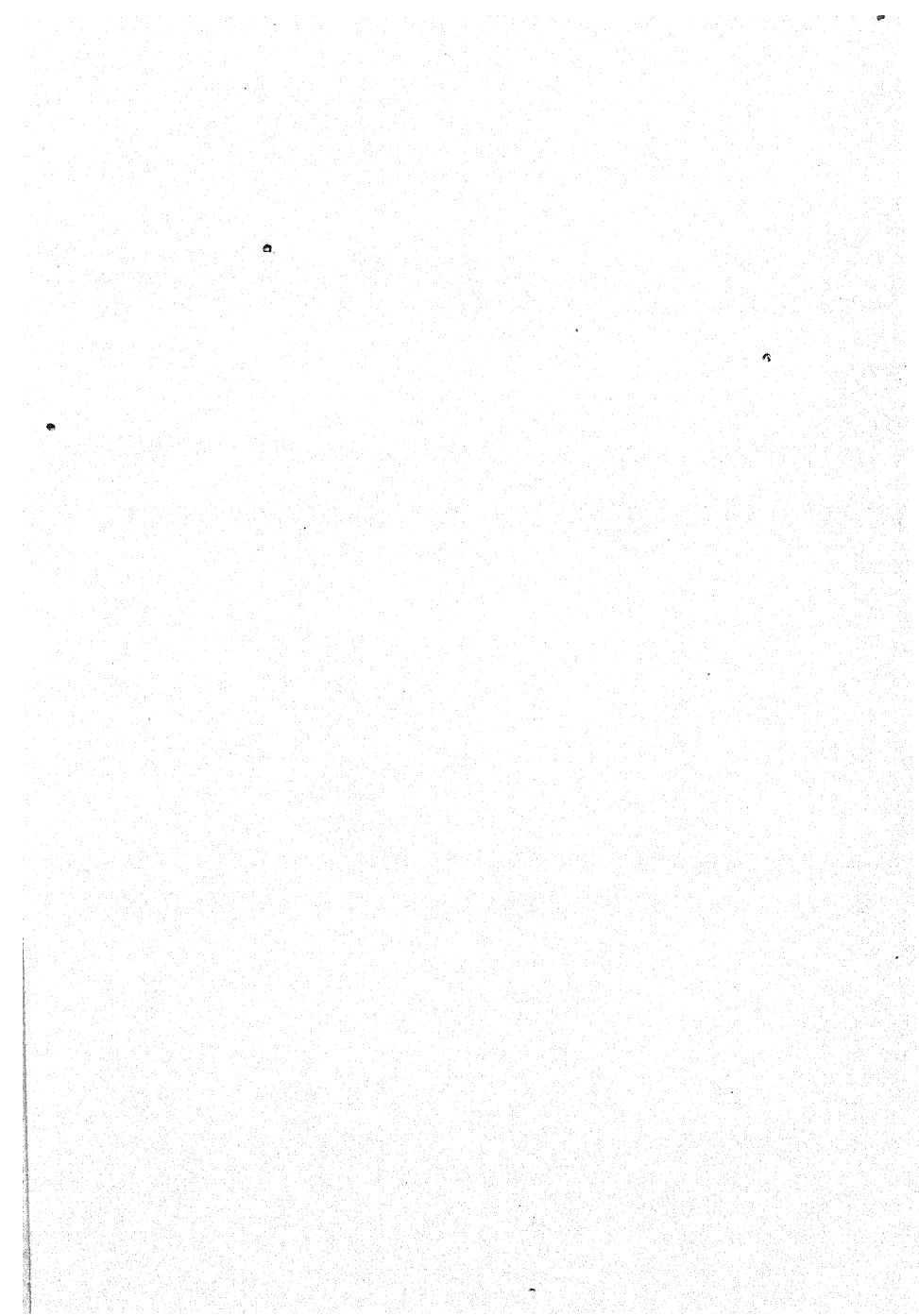
(1) *Campaign in Flanders*, 1692, p. 37.

(2) *Doddridge's Life of Col. Gardiner*, p. 16.

(3) Sir David Colyear, Bart., son of Sir Alexander, Colonel of one of the Anglo-Dutch regiments. He engaged as a volunteer with the Dutch forces under the Prince of Orange in 1674; came to England at the Revolution. Served with great reputation in Ireland and Flanders. Created Baron Portmore in 1699. Appointed to the colonelcy of the Second Queen's in 1703. Promoted to the rank of General in 1710 and made Commander of the Forces in Scotland. Sold his colonelcy of the Queen's in 1710. Governor of Gibraltar in 1713, and in 1714 succeeded the Earl of Stair as Colonel of R.N.B. Dragoons. Married Catherine, daughter of Sir Charles Sedley, mistress of James II., who created her Countess of Dorchester; Died at Gibraltar, 1730.



1. Officer's Cap. Scots' Greys. (Worn at Dettingen, 1745.)
Plume, red, white, and black.
2. Back view of ditto, showing iron defence.
3. Cocked-hat. (Worn by R. H. G.) 1793.
4. Iron Skull Cap.



no mean authority, as he was himself serving abroad in the 19th Regiment about the middle of the last century—assigns the correct date. He says in his “Account of the (late) Fifth, or Royal Irish Regiment of Dragoons:” “In consequence of this regiment, assisted by the Scots Greys, making prisoners of two battalions of the Regiment of Picardie, at Ramilies in 1706, and cutting a third to pieces before it could secure a retreat behind a line of horse that were galloping to bring it off, both corps were distinguished from other cavalry regiments, by being permitted to wear grenadier caps.” (ii. *App.*, p. 223.)

In a warrant dated July 1, 1751, it is ordered:—“The Royal North British Dragoons only, to wear caps instead of hats, which caps are to be of the same form as those of the Horse-Grenadier Guards,” &c.

On the 19th of December, 1768, another Royal Warrant directs that the Royal North British Dragoons wear black bearskin caps, with the thistle within the circle of St. Andrew, and the motto “*Nemo me impune lacessit*” on the front of the cap, instead of the cloth grenadier caps formerly worn.

In 1788 an order was issued that the heavy dragoon regiments should wear their sword-belts suspended across the right shoulder, and epaulettes instead of aiguillettes. The order as to the swords was rescinded in 1796, and the sword-belts were to be worn round the waists. The varieties of the costume will generally be found in Cannon: how in

1808, the men's hair, which had been plaited and turned up and powdered, was to be cut short; and in 1811, leather breeches were replaced by plush, and a valise of scarlet cloth substituted for the leather saddle-bags.

The Greys had the honour of receiving the surrender of the colours of the *Regiment du Roi*, after the Battle of Ramilies,⁽¹⁾ and the white standard of the Chevaux-Legers at Dettingen.⁽²⁾ The admirable behaviour of the Regiment at Waterloo is well known; it had recently been augmented to ten troops, numbering 946 officers and men, six troops only were ordered abroad. The capture of the Eagle of the French 45th of the line, by the gallant Sergeant Charles Ewart, brought an accession of honours to the regiment, which was in consequence permitted to wear an eagle on the appointments.⁽³⁾

(1) Daniel (*Mil. Fran.*, ii. 401) makes no allusion to this battle. He states that this regiment was one of the most distinguished of the Infantry under Louis le Grand. "Ce Regiment a pour enseigne une Croix blanche semée de fleurs de lys d'or. Le premier et quatrième Canton ou Quartier rouge, le second et le troisième vert."

One of the private troopers of the Scots Greys, when wounded at Ramilies, was discovered to be a woman. An account of this virago was published in 1740, entitled "Life and Adventures of Mrs. Christian Davies, commonly called Mother Ross, &c. Taken from her own mouth when a Pensioner of Chelsea Hospital." It is reprinted by Defoe in his *Works* (vol. viii., ed. 1840).

(2) "L'Etendart des Chevaux Legers est quarré et a environ un pied et demi en long et en large; il est brodé d'or et d'argent, et au milieu est un grand cartouche octagone, où est la devise de la Compagnie, qui est un Fondre; l'âme de la devise est composée de ces paroles latines, *Sensere gigantes*." (*Mil. Fran.*, ii. *Liv. x.*, p. 207.)

(3) The Greys lost 104 officers and men, and 97 wounded. Horses killed, 164; wounded, 60. Sergeant Ewart, for his distinguished gal-

In consequence of an Order, dated 29th October, 1857, directing the 4th and 5th Dragoon Guards, and the 1st and 2nd Dragoons to recruit to a standard (5ft. 8in. to 5ft. 10in.) higher than the other cavalry regiments of the line, these corps have not been placed on the rota for Colonial duty. The Greys endured the rigours of the campaign in the Crimea, and bear "Balaklava" and "Sevastopol" as mementos of their service.

In 1681 is found the first approach to the bar-
 rack system, certain buildings, viz., the King's
 Mews, the Savoy and Somerset House, being as-
 signed as permanent quarters for the military.
 Heretofore, with the exception of the troops who
 were lodged in the Tower, in Windsor Castle, and
 in forts in the country, regiments were distributed
 in billets on the publicans. An order issued to this
 effect for the quartering of the Coldstream Guards,
 dated 16th of August, 1671, is printed in Mackinnon,
 ii. 261, specifying the respective parishes and pre-
 cincts of London in which the regiment was to be
 quartered.

The billeting of troops has always been a popular
 grievance. It appears that, by an order issued in

lantry, was promoted to an ensigncy in the 3rd Royal Veteran battalion. The following notice appeared in the newspapers of July, 1880:—

"DEATH OF A WATERLOO VETERAN.—Mr. John Dickson, believed to be the last of the Scots Greys who charged so gallantly at Waterloo, died at Nunhead Lane, Surrey, on Saturday, at the age of 91. He was corporal in the 2nd Dragoons at the time of the engagement, when he had two horses shot under him, and one severely wounded, and was discharged as troop-sergeant-major, after an honourable service of 27 years."

1672, "if sufficient quarters could not be provided in public houses, they might be found in private houses;"⁽¹⁾ but by the 31 Car. II. c. 1, "that no officer, military or civil, nor any other person whatever, shall from henceforth presume to place, quarter or billet any soldier or soldiers upon any subject or inhabitant of this realm without his consent. And that it shall be lawful for any such subject or inhabitant to refuse to quarter any soldier, notwithstanding any command, order or billeting whatever."⁽²⁾ The disadvantage of regiments being scattered is obvious; also the demoralisation necessarily engendered by billets; so that it is surprising that a remedy for these evils was not sooner forced upon the attention of the Government. But a standing army in any condition was objectionable to Parliament, and a disbandment of the troops raised to meet the exigencies of the moment was always insisted upon as soon as peace was restored, lest a pretext should be found for retaining them to overawe the people at home. This view was not confined to this reign. In 1740 it was considered expedient by the ministry to propose an increase of 10,000 men (seven regiments of foot and four of

(1) See *Billeting Order* quoted in Clode, i. 452.

(2) The Act rendering it *penal* to quarter troops upon private individuals was passed in 1745; but under William III. the practice had been deprived of its most obnoxious features. In Scotland the power of quartering troops on private houses was in force till 1857; the billeting laws have now been assimilated. In Ireland authority was given in 1779 (19 and 20 Geo. III., c. 16 of the Irish Parliament) to quarter troops in inns, &c., and where there shall not be found sufficient room in such houses, then in such manner "as has been heretofore customary."

marines). A long debate ensued, the Government obtained the majority; but it is sufficient to quote the speech of one member, to show the temper of the House of Commons:—"So great a body of troops being kept on foot in England, will be the finishing-stroke of all our liberties. For as the towns will not much longer be able to contain quarters for them, most of those who keep public-houses being near ruined by soldiers being quartered on them; so on the pretence of the necessity of it, barracks will be built for quartering them, erected in all places in England, which will be as many fortresses, with strong garrisons in them, which can tend to nothing else but by degrees to subdue and enclose the kingdom. But if ever this scheme should be attempted, it will be incumbent on every Englishman to endeavour to prevent it by all methods; and as it would be the last stand that ever could be made for our liberties, it would be our duty to draw our swords, and never put them up till our liberties were secured."⁽¹⁾

Again, in 1793, on Mr. Pitt's proposal to erect additional barracks, Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor said: "The question was whether, in the very heart and body of the country, a large standing army was to be kept up, in a way totally unusual, as well as highly alarming. In no free country could a large standing army be kept up without danger to liberty."

⁽¹⁾ Speech of Lord Gage in *London Magazine* for June, 1741. (See also *Parl. Hist.*, xi. 982.) Created Viscount in the peerage of Ireland in 1720. M.P. for Tewkesbury.

He believed that the discipline of soldiers in barracks was worse than out of them, and concluded by moving: "That the uniform and persevering opposition given by our ancestors to every attempt to erect barracks in this country was founded on a just understanding of the true principles of our free and excellent constitution: and that this opposition has been justified and supported by high political and legal authority, whose recorded opinion is that in time of peace the soldier should live intermixed with the people; that no separate camp, no barracks, no inland fortresses, should be allowed: and that a circulation should be thus kept up between the army and the people, and the citizen and the soldier be intimately connected together!" (Blackstone's *Commentaries*.)⁽¹⁾

Cost of Barracks.

In 1796, a warm debate arose on the question of barrack expenditure. It is remarkable that a general officer should have led the opposition to the grant. "The expense of erecting barracks," said General Smith, "is alarmingly enormous. It amounts to nearly £1,400,000. There are forty barrack-masters, a barrack-master-general, and nineteen officers, with salaries amounting in all to £11,000."

Mr. Fox, in one of his bitter but eloquent speeches, observed that "if one system be more corrupt and inimical to freedom than another, it is the system of barracks."⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ *Parl. Hist.*, xxx. 473.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, xxxii. 929. The total expenditure in Great Britain and the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney on buildings for the purposes of barracks from 1703 to 1804 was £4,115,383; from 1804 to 1819,

The term "barracks" is probably derived from the Spanish *barracas*, meaning small huts, such as fishermen build upon the sea-coasts, whence the French *baragues*, a hut for soldiers. The earliest appearance of the word in an English dictionary seems to have been in Phillipps' *World of Words* in 1706. • Monmouth writes from Ostend in 1678: "Many men ill of agues and fevers, which they attribute much to the cold and damp lodging of men in the Barraques."⁽¹⁾

Charles II. and his advisers did not contemplate erecting any edifices for the troops; but merely made an assignment of certain places for their lodgings. The *Domestic Intelligencer* (No. 13) for August, 1679, states: "His Majesty in pursuance of the late Act of Parliament, whereby the subjects of this kingdom are not to be charged with the quartering of souldiers, has lately ordered the fitting up the Savoy in the Strand for a regiment of foot soldiers; and it is designed that stables shall be built for the Horse in Leicester Fields and Hyde Park upon that account."

On the 9th of August of that year, the following order was issued by Monmouth as Commander of the Forces:—"You are to remove two of the Drakes that are now before the Guard at Whitehall, to the Savoy, and place one at each of the gates

£3,220,857. See 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th *Reports of the Com. of Mil. Enquiry*, 1806; and *Barrack Accounts of expenditure for buildings*, ordered to be printed by House of Commons, July 3rd, 1820.

(¹) S.P. *Dom.*, Ch. II. *Entry Book*, No. 52, p. 63. Deal boards, &c., were sent over from here for their construction (p. 11).

that open into the Strand.”⁽¹⁾ The sick and wounded in the Dutch war were lodged in the Savoy. From a return of Stations of the Guards, the Savoy appears to have continued in occupation as barracks till 1814.

Somerset House, though it would appear to have been recognised as part of the jointure of Queen Consorts, was, by order of the King, to be vacated to make room for troops, and Queen Catharine was to retire to St. James’s.⁽²⁾ It has already been mentioned that Somerset House and the mews were occupied by portions of Monck’s army on his arrival in London.

“ Captain Norton, one of the surveyors of the King’s Meuse,⁽³⁾ and one of the brigadiers of his Majesty’s Horse Guards, attended his Majesty on Saturday morning (26th Feb., 1680-1), for orders for three hundred horse, and as many foot, which are to be in the Meuse as a garrison during the time of his Majesty’s absence from Whitehall, part whereof are to be of the Lord Craven’s regiment that are quartered about Spitalfields.”⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ *Entry Book*, No. 58.

⁽²⁾ “ The Queen has already retired, according to his Majesties order, to St. James’s; his Majesty intending to quarter two regiments in Somerset House, and that place in the Savoy where one regiment is now quartered is to be turned into an hospital for lame and sick soldiers, and his Majesties house at Greenwich is to be converted to the same use.”—*Protestant (Dom.) Intelligencer*, No. 13, Aug. 19th, 1679.

⁽³⁾ Now the site of the National Gallery. Minshew derives the word from the Lat. *mutare*, to change, as the royal hawks were kept there while they mewed, or changed their feathers. In Edward VI.’s reign the Mews was rebuilt and prepared for stabling the King’s horses (Stow, 167), whence all rows of stabling have since been called mews.

⁽⁴⁾ *Protestant Domestic Intelligencer*.

On April 5th, the same journal informs us that "beds and all other necessities will be provided for the troops quartered in the Mews, and also accommodations for some of the gentlemen of his Majesties Guards, and that their horses shall be kept there at 4s. 6d. a week."

Guard-houses—often called Guards or Courts of Guard, perhaps from the French Corps de Garde—were in existence at several points in the metropolis. The Horse and Foot Guards had each one. A curious view of Whitehall, in 1669, in "Cosmo's Travels," shows the sentry-boxes, and an unfinished-looking building used by the Foot Guards. Another illustration of the same scene is engraved in Pennant's "London." The *London Gazette* (No. 103) announces on "Nov. 9th, 1666, between seven and eight o'clock at night, there happened a fire in the Horse-Guards house in the Tilt Yard, over against Whitehall. By the timely help his Majesty and his Royal Highness caused to be applied, by ten o'clock it was wholly mastered."

In country quarters it was expected that a guard-house for the men, and rooms for the officers, should be provided by the local authorities, upon an intimation from the Secretary of State.⁽¹⁾

(1) "Charles R. Trusty and well-beloved, Wee greet you well. There being a necessity for a Guard-house, where the Companies of the trusty and well-beloved Colonel Sir William Lockhart's reg^t (raised during the Dutch war and disbanded afterwards), now quartered in Our towne of Ipswich, may keep guards in their turnes; and the Guard-house being generally provided and assigned by the Magistrates of townes where Our Forces are quartered, Wee have thought fitt to signifie the same unto you. And that it is Our Will and Pleasure that

Chelsea Hos-
pital.

The year 1682 is memorable for this—if for nothing else—on the 16th February, attended by a great concourse of nobility and gentry, Charles laid the foundation stone of Chelsea Hospital, on the site where his grandfather, 72 years before, went through a like ceremony in respect of a theological establishment, styled in the charter of incorporation “King James’ College at Chelsey,” whence the Hospital is often called “the College” to this day. James’s College never flourished, and it is evident that about the year 1647 the institution was broken up. During the Commonwealth the building was used as a state prison. The prisoners taken at the Siege of Dunkirk and elsewhere were confined there, but were released when the King was about to return.⁽¹⁾ After the Restoration it was again employed for a similar purpose: the Dutch, and subsequently in 1667, the French prisoners of war, were kept there.⁽²⁾

In 1667 the Royal Society, which had been incorporated in 1662, petitioned the King for a grant of the property; this was conceded, and on the 27th September, Evelyn, one of the Commissioners of

ward; and the suspicion of the D. of York was not without some ground, since that regt. consisted of 2,400 men, a great part of our little army, always kept together and quartered in London, when the other few regts. were separated into all the garrisons of England. This appeared sufficiently at King Charles’s death, when it had not been impossible for the D. of Monmouth to succeed him, if he had then flourished in Court, at the head of so considerable a regt.”—*Works of J. Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham*, 4to. Lond. 1723, ii. 20.

(1) “The Spanish prisoners that were formerly in Chelsey Colledge are discharged.” (*Merc. Pol.*, from May 16th to 23rd, 1660.)

(2) *S.P. Dom.*, Ch. II., vol. 207, No. 159.

Prisons, received orders to deliver possession to the Society,⁽¹⁾ of which he was a member of Council. But for want of funds the rebuilding was never commenced.

On the 14th Sept., 1681, Sir Stephen Fox ⁽²⁾ proposed to Evelyn the purchase of the College and the surrounding lands, on the part of the King, with the view of converting it into a hospital for soldiers. The proposal was gladly entertained, and Sir Christopher Wren, as President of the Society, was authorised to sell the property for £1,300. Small as this sum was for such an estate, the Council voted their thanks to the President for thus disposing of a property which was a source of continual annoyance and trouble to them.⁽³⁾ On the 27th of January of the next year Fox informed Evelyn of the King's intention to proceed to the erection of a royal hospital for "emerited souldiers," and that he (the King) would settle £5,000 a year on it, and expend on the building £20,000, for the relief and reception of four invalid companies of 400 men.

(1) *Diary*, ii. 29.

(2) Founder of the noble families of Ilchester and Holland, grandfather of Charles James Fox. "Born of honest parents, of good report in Wiltshire," says Evelyn. Appears to have been first brought into notice by Lord Percy, and after passing through some subordinate offices in the Royal household, he accompanied Charles abroad in exile, and was employed to manage the finances of the Royal family, in which capacity Clarendon speaks of him "as the most serviceable person about King Charles II." At the Restoration he was appointed to the Board of Green Cloth, and afterwards to be Paymaster of the Forces (in which capacity he realised a very large fortune, stated at £200,000), and one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury.

(3) Weld's *Hist. of the Royal Society*, i., 279.

“I was therefore desired by Sir Stephen,” says Evelyn “(who had not only the whole managing of this, but was, as I perceived, himself to be a grand benefactor, as well it became him who had gotten so vast an estate by the soldiers) to assist him, and consult what method to cast it in, as to the Government.”

Charles, always in pecuniary difficulties, had no means—and possibly no intention—of making so munificent a contribution; and all he did contribute was a sum of £6,787, an unapplied balance of secret-service-money. Fox contributed £1,300, and this being the exact amount of the purchase-money, suggests the idea that he, being a loyal subject, a benevolent man, and having acquired a large fortune out of the pay of the army, was the originator of the charity, and the real purchaser of the property, allowing his Sovereign to reap the merit of the project. A tradition exists that the suggestion of founding the hospital was made by Nell Gwyn to the King, but there is no evidence whatever of that, and probability is opposed to it. Throughout the transaction no mention is made of her name. It must, however, be borne in mind—in justice to the King—that as he contemplated, as has just been stated, converting a part of the Savoy and the royal palace at Greenwich into military hospitals, it is possible that the project may have emanated from him. Admirer as he was of Louis le Grand, and copyist as he was of French institutions, the idea may have been suggested to him by the erection of the magni-

ficent sister establishment, the Hôtel des Invalides, which had been opened for the reception of pensioners in 1674; but whether he was the originator or not, he at all events had the merit of having forwarded the design.

The kindred institution of Kilmainham was antecedent to that of Chelsea. The first endowment of that hospital was by royal warrant, 27th October, 1679, setting forth the same principle as that on which Chelsea was formed—namely, by contributions from the army, and not costing the Government anything. “Sixpence in the pound was to be deducted from all pay, to be applied in building and settling an Hospital for such aged and maimed Officers and Soldiers as shall be dismissed out of Our Army (in Ireland) as unserviceable men, and for making provision for their future maintenance.” The lands of Kilmainham, formerly belonging to the Knights Templars, were selected for the purpose, and the first stone of the building was laid by the Duke of Ormond, 29th April, 1680.—See Warburton’s *History of Dublin*. Kilmainham.

The necessity of making some statutory provision for the relief of disabled soldiers seems to have arisen in the reign of Elizabeth, about the same time, and for the same reasons, which produced the Poor-laws. (35 Eliz., c. 4).

Matters remained thus until the scheme of Chelsea Hospital was started; the formation of a regular army, and the introduction of permanent enlistment forced some other general system of relief

upon the consideration of the Government. The Government, however, did little or nothing towards its promotion. The important question then arose, how to provide funds for its erection and maintenance. Expectations were confidently entertained that the public would largely contribute to so charitable an object, but the total amount of all voluntary subscriptions was only £2,374, including Fox's £1,300, and £1,000 from Tobias Rustat, a former page of the Back-stairs.⁽¹⁾ It therefore became necessary to devise new means of raising funds; a work of no little difficulty, at the time when Parliament frequently refused supplies for the army, and had even passed a resolution declaring it illegal to raise money in anticipation of any grants to be made by the King.⁽²⁾ A standing army was obnoxious to the Commons; and it was clear that no assistance was to be obtained from them. Recourse was had to the clergy, but the attempt failed. In this extremity, a plan was devised for raising money from the troops themselves.

Stephen Fox.

When Fox became Paymaster-General in March, 1661, the custom prevailed of issuing pay to the troops long after it had become due. To remedy

(¹) Keeper of Hampton Court Palace, and Yeoman of the Robes to Charles II. (June, 1660. *Cal. S.P.D.*, Ch. II., p. 72.) The statue of James II., behind Whitehall—the work of Grinling Gibbons—was set up Dec. 31st, 1686, at the charge of Rustat; also one of Charles II., at Chelsea, at a cost of £1,000. (See Peck's *Desid. Cur.*, ii., 50.) In the obituary notices in the newspapers for Feb. 10th, 1880, appeared—"On the 30th Jan., at Whitechurch, Hants, Tobias Rustat Hemsted, Esq., in his 70th year."

(²) *Parl. Hist.*, iv. 757 and 1,294.

this inconvenience, he made a private arrangement with the troops the following year, by which they should receive a portion of their pay under the head of "subsistence," every week, and the balance after the next muster. In return for this accommodation, he became entitled to deduct for his own use 12*d.* out of every £ issued. To enable him to meet these engagements, he raised money on his own private credit in account with various bankers. Pepys explains the arrangement under which the Paymaster-General made his large fortune; which justified Evelyn's remark, that he could well afford to become a grand benefactor to the hospital.

"Sir Stephen Fox told me his whole mystery in the business of the interest he pays as treasurer for the army. They give him twelvepence per pound quite through the army, with condition to be paid weekly. This he undertakes upon his own private credit, and to be paid by the King at the end of every four months. If the King pay him not at the end of every four months, then for all the time he stays longer, my Lord Treasurer by agreement allows him eight per cent. per annum for the forbearance. So that, in fine, he hath about twelve per cent. from the King and the army, for fifteen or sixteen months' interest; and of which he gains soundly, his expense being about £130,000 per annum."⁽¹⁾

It is not often that both parties make a good

⁽¹⁾ *Diary*, iii., 43. Dalrymple (vol. i., *App. B. i.*, p. 145) gives the following extract from "An account of divers signal frauds in the conduct of the public revenues," among Lord Keeper North's papers:—

"The guards solicit for want of pay. The gentleman who is pay-

bargain; yet this arrangement, highly lucrative as it was to the Paymaster-General, appears to have given equal satisfaction to the troops. Some eighteen years after, upon Fox's resignation of office, the King issued a royal warrant, recognising the absolute necessity of constant and steady payment of the troops, and directing that the muster-rolls be completely paid off before the end of the succeeding muster; and that in return for such regular payment the deduction of 12*d.* in the pound be continued to be applied in the following way:—one-third towards payment of exchequer fees and paymaster's expenses, and two-thirds towards lessening the expenses of the forces.⁽¹⁾

master offers, if they will give 12*d.* per pound, he will save them the trouble of soliciting, and pay them punctually.

"The King wants money to do it. The same person offers, if he may have good security and 8 *per cent.*, he will supply the occasion. He borrows money at 6 and 5,—nay by credit of the cash is trusted with other men's running cash without interest, and so makes greater advantage than any officer in England."

(1) "And that Our Forces may have no reason to complaine of dilatory payments, Our Will and Pleasure is that the Paymaster of Our Forces for the time being shall pay weekly subsistence, and complete the payment of musters in manner following:—

4 <i>s.</i>	a week to a private Souldier	} of Our Regiments of Guards under the command of Coll. Russell an y ^e Earle of Craven.
5 <i>s.</i>	" Drummer or Corporall	
7 <i>s.</i>	" Serjeant	
10 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	" an Ensigne } if desired.	
14 <i>s.</i>	" a Lieutenant	
£200	" each troope of Guards	} of Our other Regi- ments of Foot, Guari- sons and Forces.
£30	" each troope of the Reg ^{t.} of Horse	
3 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	" private Soldier	
4 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	" Drummer or Corporall	
6 <i>s.</i>	" Serjeant	
10 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	" an Ensigne	}
14 <i>s.</i>	" Lieutenant	

And that all off-reckonings and officers' pay according to the Establish-

To carry on the erection of Chelsea Hospital the King was induced soon afterwards to vary the application of the money thus saved from the pay of the troops. This he did by letters of Privy-Seal, dated 17th May, 1683, whereby one-third of the poundage so deducted was devoted to this object, to take effect from the 1st January, 1680-1, the retrospective operation affording a considerable sum for immediate expenditure. In the succeeding year, it was ordered by warrant that on the occasion of sale of officers' commissions, both buyer and seller should each pay for this purpose 12*d.* out of every £ which changed hands,⁽¹⁾ and by a subsequent war-

ment, and muster-rolls be completely paid off and cleared before the end of the succeeding muster, and that all Generalls, Reformed officers and Pensioners be paid quarterly with that care that one quarter be still paid before the second quarter becomes due." Jan., 1679—80.

P. R. O. *Audit. Off. Establishment Book.*

(1) This is a direct sanction of the purchase system. It appears that the value of an ensign's commission ranged between £200 and £310; a lieutenant's about £400.

"CHARLES R.—

"Whereas out of Our great care for the maintenance of such as shall have served in Our Land Forces, We have given order for the building and furnishing a Royal Hospital, and it being also reasonable that such officers as receive Our commissions should contribute to so good and charitable a work, Our Will and pleasure is that when any Governor of Our Forts or Garrisons or any Commission officer of Our Land Forces, shall obtain leave from Us to surrender his commission, command, or employment, and that at his humble request We shall grant the same to any other, that in such case the person so surrendering his command shall pay 12*d.* out of every twenty shillings that shall be given him in case of such surrender, and the person likewise to whom the surrender shall be made shall give 12*d.* out of every twenty shillings to the person surrendering as aforesaid. And no Commissions be issued without a certificate that these conditions have been fulfilled, &c.

"Given at Our Court at Newmarket, 17th March, 1683-4."

Establishments, 1684 to 1692, W. O., P. R. O.

rant on the 17th June, 1684, a deduction of a day's pay was ordered to be made from the annual allowance of every officer and soldier. The funds thus provided being still insufficient, the proportion of one-third of the poundage on pay of the troops was increased to two-thirds; and finally the whole of the poundage, after deducting the Exchequer fees and the expenses of the Paymaster-General, was made applicable to this work.

It will thus appear that Chelsea Hospital is veritably the veteran's home, established by his own or his predecessors' money, "supported out of funds which the nation never gave."⁽¹⁾

Sir Christopher Wren was the architect, and the building is said to have cost £150,000. The property in 1685 contained 56 acres, it now comprises a little over 66 acres.⁽²⁾ The principal building consists of a large quadrangle; in the centre are pediments of freestone, supported by Doric columns. The frieze on the pediment of the centre of the quadrangle displays the following inscription:—

"In subsidium et levamen emeritorum senio belloque
fractorum, condidit Carolus Secundus, auxit Jacobus Secundus,
perficere Gulielmus et Maria, Rex et Regina, MDCXC."

In the chapel are suspended numerous captured standards and eagles, which were brought thither

⁽¹⁾ Greig's *Traditions of Chelsea Hospital*, p. 57.

⁽²⁾ In 1826 £9,000 was given for a piece of land (being a farther part of the Ranelagh estate), on which had formerly stood the celebrated Rotunda, in the midst of the Ranelagh Gardens. It fronted Bridge Road, and was opposite to the present Guards' Barracks. The Rotunda was opened to the public in 1742, and continued as a place of fashionable resort till 1803.

in 1855 from St. Paul's, Whitehall, and the India House, through the instrumentality of Sir J. M. Wilson, then adjutant of the Hospital.⁽¹⁾

Among numerous standards deposited in the Great Hall, are remnants of what were once French colours, taken in Marlborough's campaigns.

The guns placed in the south-east front of the Court consist of four French ones taken at Waterloo, presented by the Board of Ordnance in February, 1848, and two Sikh ones captured at Chillianwallah. It was originally intended that the latter should be placed at the base of the obelisk erected in the grounds by the 24th Regiment, in memory of 225 officers and men who fell in that action.

Although the building itself has remained unchanged, the surrounding grounds have undergone great alterations. At the beginning of the last century Chelsea Hospital was in the country, with very few houses in its vicinity, and quite separated from London; so much so, that in 1715 representations having been made that communications after dark had become dangerous from the many robberies committed, the King ordered a guard to be formed from the in-pensioners to patrol between St. James's Palace and "Chelsea Town" up to midnight, which was continued till 1805. Notwithstanding this precaution, the commission of murder on the highway is recorded; and on one occasion the patrol itself

⁽¹⁾ They are described in a work compiled by J. Ford (Captain of Invalids) in 1841, a handsome illuminated copy of which was presented to the Hospital in 1861 by the Queen.

was attacked, when one man was killed and the others disabled.⁽¹⁾

The details of the general management of the hospital are fully described in the comprehensive publication just alluded to. See also *Parl. Hist.*, vi., 1,189.

The establishment maintains its military character, and a guard mounts every day. The in-pensioners are formed into six companies, with a requisite number of staff-sergeants, not to exceed 538. The veterans thus perform to the last such light military duties as they are capable of; all who perform any duties receive extra daily pay, according to their rank and efficiency.

Out-pensions.

The building affords accommodation to about 540, exclusive of officers. The out-pensioners in 1872 numbered 66,281. The system of out-pensions originated in the reign of James II. That King issued a warrant that all non-commissioned officers and soldiers disabled on service should receive a daily allowance pending the completion of the hospital. This pension was subsequently extended to those who had served for twenty years. On the 28th February, 1687-8, 522 men were then chargeable on the funds of the Hospital, besides 104 men described as "entered for vacancies." In 1688 the Prince of Orange called upon the Earl of Ranelagh for a report on the condition of the hospital. It

⁽¹⁾ *History of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea*, compiled by M.-General Hutt, C.B., p. 102. The substance of the account of this noble and interesting institution is taken from this valuable report.

appeared that there were 579 pensioners, and that as 472 only could be accommodated in the building then approaching completion, 107 must continue to receive "his Majesty's bounty in their quarters," who thus became out-pensioners. Their numbers vary necessarily from year to year, according to the exigencies of the service.

By a statute of Henry VII. (ii. c. 18), a special obligation to military service was imposed upon persons holding fees, offices, or annuities under the Crown, which offices became forfeited in case of their default. Such an obligation has always been considered in recent years as attached to army pensions.⁽¹⁾

When James II. was preparing to repel the Dutch invasion, he "ordered the Pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, and such other officers and soldiers who are loyal, and one or two companies will be formed out of them; in particular fifty of them, under the command of Captain Cony, are to march to Windsor Castle, and the soldiers from thence to come and join their proper regiments."⁽²⁾

These companies were disbanded on 31st December, 1688.

In 1703 four companies of invalids, of one hundred men each, were organised and stationed at Chester, Teignmouth, Windsor, and Greenwich. Queen Anne placed them under the Chelsea Hos-

(1) "Evidence before the Finance Committee," p. 179, quoted in Clode, i., 337.

(2) 6th Oct., 1688. *Add. MSS.*, 3,929.

pital Board, and all men, who on claiming a pension were found fit for garrison duty, were formed into invalid companies. In 1716 they were brought under the Mutiny Act; in 1719 they were formed into a regiment, the 41st, in order to relieve the expenses of pensions, which continued to be recruited from invalids until 1787, when it was ordered to be composed of men fit for active duty. Corps formed from pensioners were, however, continued down to 1803, when all men fit for duty were transferred to garrison battalions. ⁽¹⁾

In 1843 a measure was submitted to Parliament for enrolling out-pensioners to assist in preserving the public peace. The Bill was strongly opposed at every stage, but ultimately passed as the 6 & 7 Vict., c. 95.

A.D. 1682. On the 29th November, Prince Rupert died at his house in Spring Gardens. His impetuosity and imprudence had often more than counterbalanced the effects of his undoubted courage. The last few years of his life had been devoted to scientific pursuits. He established the Hudson's Bay Company, of which he was governor, and discovered or improved the art of engraving in mezzotint.

A.D. 1683. On the 28th July the Princess Anne was married to Prince George, brother to the King of Denmark.

A.D. 1684. In this year Charles decided upon

⁽¹⁾ *Parl. Hist.*, xxxvi., 1,050.

giving up possession of Tangiers. It had been an expensive acquisition without any compensating advantage. Indeed, the Portuguese must have congratulated themselves upon getting quit of an encumbrance on so good terms. As a commercial enterprise it had proved a failure, and in a strategical point of view it was at that time valueless. It would now be idle to speculate on the benefits which might have accrued to Great Britain from its retention. Great sums had been expended in improving the fortifications, and in constructing a mole. But a further heavy expenditure was required to secure its protection, as well as a considerable garrison, for it was repeatedly attacked by the Moors.

It was only on the 7th April, 1679, that a Bill was ordered to be brought in by the English House of Commons "for annexing Tangier to the Imperial Crown of England,"⁽¹⁾ and the object of this is explained by a Resolution passed *nem. con.* on the 10th: "That this House is of opinion, that those who shall advise his Majesty to part with Tangier to any foreign prince or state, or be instrumental therein, ought to be accounted enemies to the King and kingdom." The Parliament feared that Tangiers might be sold, like Dunkirk, to the dreaded King of France.

Annexed to
the Crown.

On the opening of Parliament on October 21st, 1680, the King, among other matters, proceeded to say: "I need not tell you what danger the city of

(1) *Coms. Journals* iv 200

Tangier is in, nor of what importance it is to preserve it. I have, with a mighty charge and expense, sent a very considerable relief thither; but constantly to maintain so great a force as that war will require, and to make those new works and fortifications, without which the place will not long be tenable, amounts to so vast a sum, that without your support it will be impossible for me to undergo it." Again, on the 15th December, he addressed the Houses, and reverts to this subject: "That if that place be thought worth the keeping, it must be speedily supplied." ⁽¹⁾

A debate ensued, but the House of Commons was in such dread of a Popish succession, and believing that Tangiers was to be "a nursery for Popish soldiers," that no money was voted for the purpose.

In 1662, Lord Sandwich, commanding a fleet in the Mediterranean charged with the chastisement of the Barbary pirates, was instructed, after the fulfilment of that object, to receive possession of Tangiers. He was shortly afterwards followed by the Earl of Peterborough, who went out as governor. ⁽²⁾ He was accompanied by a regiment of one thousand men raised in England, of which he was

⁽¹⁾ *Parl. Hist.*, iv., pp. 1,161—1,234.

⁽²⁾ His commission (dated 30th Sept., 1662) and instructions are preserved in *Harl. MSS.*, No. 1,595. His eminent services to Charles I. and II. fully justified his preferment. In 1685 he was appointed, by James II., Colonel of the IIIrd. Horse (afterwards 2nd. D. G.) from which he was removed at the Revolution. He died in 1697, and was succeeded by his nephew Charles, so celebrated in the wars of Spain in the time of Queen Anne.

appointed Colonel, and Henry Norwood, Lieutenant-Colonel. Three thousand two hundred soldiers of the disbanded garrison of Dunkirk were despatched at the end of the year, under the command of Colonels Fitzgerald,⁽¹⁾ Farrel, and other officers.⁽²⁾ These were afterwards designated as the 1st and 2nd Tangier Garrison Regiments. A body of horse of three hundred men also came out with the governor. The appearance and equipment of these corps were commended in the public prints of the day. They embarked at the end of December, 1662; and in a letter to Peterborough, dated 21st December, the King wrote assuring them of his best wishes.⁽³⁾

None of the governors retained their position long. Peterborough resigned in April, 1663, and obtained a pension of £1,000 a year for his year's service. Lord Teviot succeeded him, and was killed by the Moors in the next year.⁽⁴⁾ Lord Belasyse came out next, and returned to England in May, 1666. Colonel Norwood, appointed in his room, died at Tangiers in 1668. The Earl of Middleton, who succeeded, also died there in 1675; and the Earl of Inchiquin resigned in 1680. The position was evidently not an enviable one.

(1) "Pension of £300 a year granted to Col. Jo. Fitzgerald, Colonel of a Regiment of Foot in Our garrison of Tangiers, and Deputy-Governor of Our said city."—*Tangier Papers*, P R. O.

(2) Description of Tangiers, 1664; endorsed "Tracts relating to Tangier."—*Harl. MSS.*, No. 583, c. 5.

(3) *Harl. MSS.*, No. 6,844.

(4) "His Majesty has lost an excellent officer and a loyal subject, but the town is in no danger."—*Intelligencer*, 6th June, 1664.

The affairs of the place were managed at home by Commissioners, who met at the Rolls Chambers in Whitehall.⁽¹⁾ On the 3rd April, 1663, there is this entry in Pepys' Diary:—

“To the Tangier Committee, where we find ourselves at a great stand; the establishment being but 70,000*l.* *per annum*, and the forces to be kept in the town on the least estimate that my Lord Ruthford (Teviot) can be brought to bring is 53,000*l.* The charge of this year's work of the Mole will be 13,000*l.*; besides 1,000*l.* a-year to my Lord Peterborough as a pension, and the fortifications and contingencys.”

Belasyse in one of his despatches states: “The present sum allowed for Tangiers is 70,500*l.* yearly; one third hath been expended in fortifications, which had been exceeded by nearly 10,000*l.* since his Majesty possessed the garrison.” With a view to diminish the expenditure, he proposed a reduction in the number of staff officers; that the two regiments of 1,000 each should be reduced to one of 1,600, and the horse from 66 to 40 troopers. These suggestions appear to have been adopted. He also came to terms with a Moorish usurper, who had hitherto been in incessant hostility, and a formal treaty was signed, with this high-sounding preamble:—

“Articles of Peace concluded by his Excellency

⁽¹⁾ Pepys, i., 340.

John, Lord Bellasyse, Baron of Worlaby, Captain-General of all the Forces belonging to his Majesty of Great Britain in Affrica, Governor of Tangier, with the Most Excellent Cidi Hamet Hader Ben Ali Gayland, Prince of West Barbary, Arzilla, Alcassar, Tetuan, Saly," &c. Dated 2nd April, 1666.⁽¹⁾

But, notwithstanding the treaty, there was no rest nor peace for the garrison, which was kept continually on the *qui vive* by the attacks of fierce tribes bent on driving out the Christians.

In 1679 the Moors besieged the town; and, having the advantage of several European renegades in their army, by whom they had been taught the art of mining and of constructing underground approaches, they destroyed two forts at a short distance from the town, but were then repulsed by a vigorous sortie. Four companies were sent out from England as reinforcements in the course of this year, but whether raised for the occasion or drafted from existing corps is not stated.

In consequence of the threatening aspect of affairs (and it was to this that the King referred), four companies of Dumbarton's regiment (then stationed in Ireland) were ordered to Tangiers. They embarked at Kinsale, and reached their destination on the 4th April of the next year (1680). Four other companies of the same regiment shortly afterwards followed, and in the course of the summer eight more came out under the command of Major

⁽¹⁾ P. R. O., *Tangier Papers*, p. 63.

Sir James Hacket. In June Lieut.-Colonels Sackville's and Bowes's companies of the King's regiment of Guards, and Captain Talmach's⁽¹⁾ company of the Coldstreams, embarked at the Tower and at Portsmouth for Tangiers, under the command of the Earl of Mulgrave, in place of the Earl of Ossory, who was seized with a malignant fever, of which he died 30th July. (Evelyn, ii. 144.) These three companies of the Guards were extended into five, and formed one battalion.

The following warrant was issued, dated 4th June, 1680:—

“The comp^s and commanded (*selected*) men for Tangier to serve in battalions; that the five comp^s now going out of this kingdom under the command of John, Earle of Mulgrave shall have the first place as a battⁿ of Guards; that the four comp^s of the Scotch reg^t with the four other comp^s from Ireland make one battⁿ, and take the rank of the said Scotch reg^t, that is to say, next after the battⁿ of Guards; that when the rest of the said Scotch reg^t arrive there (with the four Scotch and four Irish comp^s already ment^d) make two batt^{ns} and take rank after the battⁿ of Guards; that the 12 comp^s of the garrⁿ reg^t (*Tangier*) and the four

(1) Thomas Talmach, or Talmash, son of Sir Lionel, 3rd Earl of Dysart. In 1688 appointed to the command of one of the Anglo-Dutch regiments, which came over with the Prince, and became the Vth. Fusiliers. Appointed Lieut.-General in 1682, and died of wounds received when in command of the expedition to Camaret Bay, Dept. Finisterre, in 1694.

English comp^s sent thither last year make two batt^{ns}, and take rank after those of the Guards and Scotch regiment." (1)

Three troops of Horse also were raised and sent out, reaching Tangiers in July. They were commanded by Captains Coy, Nedby, and Langston, three officers of the Duke of Monmouth's regiment lately disbanded, and their troops were speedily supplied with disciplined men who had served in that regiment; as the demand was urgent, they were furnished with horses from the Life Guards. At the same time three troops of Spanish Horse, to act as auxiliaries, arrived from Gibraltar, so that with the one troop already there, the cavalry consisted of seven troops of efficient cuirassiers.

A regiment of Foot of sixteen companies also was raised in England in July, 1680, chiefly through the instrumentality of Lieut.-Colonel Piercy Kirke, (2) Major Charles Trelawny, (3) and other officers late of Monmouth's Royal English Regiment of Foot in the French service, and through their influence many of the non-commissioned officers and men of that regiment were induced to join the new one. The colonelcy was given to the Earl of Plymouth, (4) who had previously seen some hard fighting at Tan-

4th King's
Own.

(1) Mackinnon, ii., 285.

(2) Order issued on the 21st Sept., 1680, "to pass Lieut.-Col. P. Kirke and his servant, as Capt.-Lieut. of the Earl of Oxford's troop, during his absence at Tangiers."—Packer's *Hist. R. H. G.*

(3) 4th son of Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bart. He raised half of the regiment in Cornwall.

(4) Charles Fitz-Charles, commonly called Don Carlos, born 1658, son of Catherine Peg.

giers, and unfortunately died of dysentery on the 18th October, just before his regiment reached its destination; upon which Kirke was appointed to the command, and also to the command-in-chief of the garrison.

This regiment is now the IVth (KING'S OWN ROYAL). The records of its distinguished services are detailed by Cannon. On its return to England from Tangiers in April, 1684, it was placed in garrison at Portsmouth, its sixteen companies being reduced to ten, and shortly afterwards Charles conferred upon it the title of THE DUCHESS OF YORK AND ALBANY'S REGIMENT. Whatever might have been the facings or linings of the coats at its formation, Cannon asserts that in October of this year they wore yellow. He remarks that this colour appears to have been a favourite one with the Duke of York, as yellow ribands distinguished his troop of Guards, and the "Admiral's Regiment" had yellow linings to their coats. (It had yellow coats.) On the death of Charles II., when the Duchess of York became Queen, this regiment was then styled the Queen's Regiment of Foot, and the 1st Tangier Regiment (of which more hereafter), which had been called "THE QUEEN'S," became the QUEEN DOWAGER'S. In reward for its services after Sedgemoor, where five companies of the regiment were engaged, a splendid stand of colours, one for each of the twelve companies, was presented by the King and the Queen.⁽¹⁾ Upon the landing of the Prince of

(1) The usual charge for regimental colours was from £6 to £10 each, but these cost upwards of £20 each. The warrant for the pay-

Orange, Colonel Trelawny, then a Brigadier-General, and the Lieut.-Colonel Charles Churchill,⁽¹⁾ with some of the men, deserted the King; and Lieut.-Colonel Sir Charles Orby, from the Queen's troop of Life Guards, was appointed to the coloneley. At the Revolution the regiment was ordered to Ware and Hertford, Trelawny was restored to the command, and Churchill was made colonel of the Holland regiment, *vice* Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, who adhered to King James.

In 1689 the ADMIRAL'S REGIMENT was incorporated into the Coldstream Guards, and two marine regiments were raised in its place. These were disbanded in 1698; but on the breaking out of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1702, six regiments of marines were raised, and six regiments of the infantry of the line were placed on the establishment for sea service. The Queen's Regiment was one of those selected, and took part in the glorious capture of Gibraltar on the 23rd July, 1704, and also in its subsequent defence during the six months' siege by the combined forces of France and Spain. In 1711 its title of Marines was discontinued, and it resumed the ordinary duties of infantry. In 1715, the regiment was quartered at Windsor, and for several months furnished the guard at the Castle; at which time George I. conferred upon it the honorary distinction of KING'S OWN.

ment of £206 5s. 6d., dated 21st Aug., 1685, is printed in Cannon in the records of this regiment, p. 10.

(1) Fourth son of Sir Winstan Churchill, and brother of the Duke of Marlborough, who was second surviving son

Grose says: "The (officers'?) uniform of the regiment, at the beginning of this (18th) century, was red, faced with blue velvet, and large velvet cuffs, richly embroidered with gold. The present uniform is red, with plain blue facings, silver buttons and epaulet, white waistcoat and breeches."

In the Royal warrant of 1751 this regiment is styled the "FOURTH, OR THE KING'S OWN ROYAL REGIMENT." The facings blue; "in the centre of the first colour, the King's cipher on a red ground within the garter, and crown over it; in the three corners of the second colour the LION OF ENGLAND, being their ancient badge."

Cannon expresses his inability to ascertain when this badge was first acquired. But he believes in the probability of its having been conferred in the course of the reign of William III.

In January, 1682, Lieut.-Colonel Edward Sackville, who had succeeded to the Government of Tangiers on the death of Sir Palmes Fairborne,⁽¹⁾ by a mortal wound received from the Moors, was appointed to the lieut.-coloneley of the Coldstreams⁽²⁾, *vice* Sir James Smith, promoted to the coloneley of the Orange Regiment of City Train-

⁽¹⁾ Son of Col. Stafford Fairborne, of Nottinghamshire, buried in Westminster Abbey. Dryden wrote a graceful epitaph for the monument.

⁽²⁾ "London, Jan. 24th, 1681-2. His Majesty has been pleased to make Col. Sackville, Lt.-Col. of the Queen's regt. of Foot Guards, under the Rt. Honble. the Earl of Craven; the said Collonel's Government of Tangier being conferred on Collonel Kirke."—*The True Protestant Mercury*, No. 110, from Jan. 21st to 25th, 1681-2.

The Coldstream Guards were never styled "The Queen's." This must have been a mistake of the Editor.

bands. Colonel Piercy Kirke became governor on his retirement, and remained so until Tangiers was abandoned. He was transferred to the colonelcy of the 1st Garrison Regiment, which seems always to have been commanded by the governor for the time being.⁽¹⁾ 1684. Charles was now ruling without a Parliament, thanks to pecuniary aids from Louis, and in order to save any further expense so far as Tangiers was concerned, decided on abandoning a possession so costly and unprofitable. He despatched the Earl of Dartmouth to bring away the troops and British inhabitants, and to destroy the works, which order was most effectually carried out.

On the 11th Feb. that officer reports that he had quitted Tangiers, having first levelled to the ground all the forts and walls, except some of the Peterborough Tower, which resisted the power of gunpowder, and he had given up the place to the Moors.

The troops embarked for England were:—

	Comps.	Effective Men.	Quartered at
King's Battalion (Guards)	5	235	London to rejoin.
Two battalions of Scotch (Dumbarton's)	16	628	Rochester.
Two „ Colonel Kirke's	16	559	{ 8 comps. Pendennis. „ Plymouth.
Two „ Colonel Trelawny's	16	470	
Company of Grenadiers	1		Portsmouth.
Train			
Company of Miners	1	48	London.
Four troops of Horse	4	180	Ware, Hoddesdon. ⁽²⁾

(1) "Piercy Kirk, Esqre., Captain-Genl. and Comr.-in-Chief of Our City of Tangier to be Col. of that Regiment whereof Sir Palmes Fairborne, K^t., was Colonel." 19th day of April, 1682.—*Mil. Hist.*, 1681 to 1688. *Dom. Entry Bk.*

(2) *Tangier Papers*, P. R. O. There are interesting views and plans of Tangier in the King's Lib., B. Mus.

1st Royal
Dragoons.

The King was unwilling to lose the services of these tried horsemen of Tangiers. It would appear that, as if in anticipation of their arrival, Charles had resolved to form a regiment of dragoons, there not being one on the English establishment (the former ones having been disbanded); and the independent troops of Tangerine Horse are now addressed as of "Our Royal Regiment of Dragoons."⁽¹⁾ Authority was given to Colonel John Churchill (who had been advanced to the peerage of Scotland, December 21st, 1682, by the title of Baron Churchill of Eyemouth) to raise fifty volunteers with their horses, to form his own troop, by beat of drum. In case the drums were beaten in the City, the authority was to be shown to the Lord Mayor. Viscount Cornbury (son of the second Earl of Clarendon) was to raise a troop at Hertford, and with these two, and the four troops of Tangiers Horse, a regiment was formed, of which

(¹) "CHARLES R. Our Will and Pleasure is, that as soon as the troop of Our Royal Regiment of Dragoons, whereof Charles Nedby, Esqre., is Captain, shall arrive from our garrison at Tangier, you cause the same forthwith to march to the town of Ware in Our county of Hertford, where they are to remain until further orders, &c.

"Whitehall, 1st day of February, 1683-4.

"By his Majesty's command,

"WILLIAM BLATHWAYTE."

A similar order for Capt. Thomas Langston's troop to quarter at Hoddesdon, Capt. John Coy's at Hampstead, and Capt. Alexander Mackenzie's at Watford and Bushey.—*War Office Records*.

Langston became conspicuous for endeavouring to take the Princess Anne's regiment of Horse over to the Prince of Orange in 1688. He was subsequently appointed Colonel of that regiment, 31st Dec., 1688. It was disbanded in 1692.

John Coy, afterwards Colonel of the 7th Horse, now 5th Dragoon Guards.—Cannon, 1st R. D.

Churchill was Colonel, and Cornbury Lieut.-Colonel, and which still exists as the 1st Royal Dragoons. The Tangerine troops having returned their armour into store, the regiment was equipped as dragoons, with muskets and bayonets, and each troop was furnished with a crimson standard or guidon, with Royal badges embroidered thereon. The strength of the regiment was 358 horses, exclusive of officers', and the uniform is stated by Cannon to have been scarlet lined with blue, and hats with silver lace, ornamented with blue ribands, with metal skull-caps beneath.⁽¹⁾

The following Order was issued to prevent all disputes concerning the rank of the Regiment :—

“ That OUR ROYAL REGIMENT OF DRAGOONS, and other regim^{ts} of dragoons which may be employed in Our service, shall have precedency both as HORSE and FOOT; and the Colonels and Officers of Dragoons shall command as officers of Horse and Foot, according to the nature of the place where they shall be: that is to say, in the field the s^d regiments shall take place as regiments of Horse, and the officers shall command and do duty as officers of Horse, according to the dates of their commissions; and that in garrison they shall command as Foot officers, and their regiment take place amongst the Foot, according to their respective seniorities from the time they were raised.”

(1) Specimens of these are preserved in the Mus. of the R. U. Service Inst. They were worn in the French cavalry, and called *calotes*.

In the succeeding reign the Royal Dragoons did good service at Sedgemoor. They afterwards escorted Monmouth (and other prisoners) to London, and were present at his execution. On the suppression of the insurrection the regiment was reduced from twelve troops of 60 men to eight of 40. The supernumeraries were formed into another regiment of Dragoons, under the Duke of Somerset, and was styled THE KING'S OWN, and is now the 3rd Hussars.

On the retirement of Christopher, Duke of Albemarle, from the command of the 1st troop of Life Guards, on being appointed to the Government of Jamaica (1st August, 1685), Churchill was promoted to the command of the 3rd troop, on Feversham's succeeding to that of the 1st, and the colonelcy of the Royal Dragoons was conferred on Cornbury. The regiment was quartered in London, and was reviewed by the King in Hyde Park on October 18th, 1688.⁽¹⁾ On the 4th November it was ordered to Portsmouth on the news of the sailing of the Prince of Orange's expedition;⁽²⁾ and when the fleet had passed on to the westward, it was sent to Salisbury to form part of the army which was being assembled to march against the invaders. Cornbury here played false to his sovereign, and formed a design to carry over the regiment to the Prince. The intention was detected by

⁽¹⁾ "The King went to Hyde Park to see my son's regiment, with which he was well pleased." (Clarendon's *Diary*, ii., 191.)

⁽²⁾ "Nov. 4th, Sunday. At 3 this morning my son had orders to march with his regiment to Portsmouth." (*Ibid.*, 209.)

the loyalty of some of the other officers, and the regiment was brought back by Clifford, the Major, whom James at once promoted to the colonelcy.⁽¹⁾ After the flight of the King, Cornbury was again placed in command of the regiment, but was superseded in the next year.

The Royal Dragoons saw much service in Ireland and abroad. At Dettingen a sergeant of the regiment had the honour of capturing the standard of the 2nd company of the MOUSQUETAIRES NOIRS.⁽²⁾

In 1799, in pursuance of General Orders, the regiment was mounted on "nag-tailed" black horses, *i.e.*, tails docked short.⁽³⁾ In 1809, the Royal Dra- Black Horses.

(1) Ambrose Norton, in Macpherson's *Orig. Papers*, i., 294.

(2) The Mousquetaires of the Guard consisted of two companies, a *corps d'élite*. They originally served on foot; afterwards they were mounted, and fusils were substituted for their muskets. One company was mounted on white or grey horses, the other on black, hence their designation of *Noirs*, and not from their clothing, which was scarlet. Daniel states that the motto on the standard of the 2nd company was "ALTERIUS JOVIS ALTERA TELA." (*Mil. Fran.*, ii., L. 10, c. iv., p. 222.)

(3) "GENERAL ORDERS. The heavy cavalry, with the exception of the two regts. of Life Guards and royal regt. of Horse Guards, are to be mounted on nag-tailed horses.

"The 1st or King's regt. of dragoon guards, the 1st or royal regt. of dragoons, the 3rd or King's own regt. of dragoons, are to be mounted on *black* nag-tailed horses.

"The 2nd or Queen's regt. of dragoon guards are to be mounted on nag-tailed horses of the colours of *bay* and *brown*.

"The 2nd or royal N. B. regt. of dragoons are to be mounted on nag-tailed *grey* horses.

"All other regts. of heavy cavalry on the British establishment are to be mounted on nag-tailed horses of the colours of *bay*, *brown*, and *chestnut*.

"The custom of mounting trumpeters on grey horses is to be discontinued; they are in future to be mounted on horses of the colour prescribed for their regiments.

"HARRY CALVERT, Adj.-Genl.

"Horse Guards, 10th Aug. 1799."

goons were ordered to embark at Cork for Portugal, and eight troops of eighty rank and file, and eighty horses per troop, landed at Lisbon on the 12th September. They served under the Duke of Wellington in all the stirring events of that period, until the abdication of the Emperor Napoleon in 1814; and they bear PENINSULA as a honorary distinction on their standards and appointments. Called again to the battle-field on the escape of Buonaparte from Elba, with a spirit unsubdued by a two nights' bivouac amidst incessant rain and without provisions, they contributed to the success on the glorious 18th June. The captain in command of the centre squadron dashed with his men into the midst of a body of French infantry, and succeeded in possessing himself of the Eagle and standard of the 105th regiment, killing the officer in charge of it.⁽¹⁾ For this act of gallantry an EAGLE is borne on their appointments, and WATERLOO on their standards.

2nd Queen's.

On the arrival in England in April, 1684, of Kirke's 1st Tangier regiment, as has just been stated, consisting of 559 men in two weak battalions of eight companies each, one battalion was quartered at Plymouth and the other at Pendennis. It was shortly afterwards reduced to ten companies, and one of grenadiers, with a Captain and two Lieutenants, Philip Kirke (probably a brother of Piercy) being

⁽¹⁾ Capt. Alex^r. Kennedy Clark, afterwards Col. A. K. Clark Kennedy, C.B. and K.H. After seizing the Eagle, he delivered it to Corporal Francis Styles, with orders to carry it to the rear as fast as he could, who was rewarded with an ensigncy in the 6th W. I. Regt. Col. Kennedy received two wounds, and had two horses killed under him.

the Lieut.-Colonel, and Sir James Lessly (or Leslie) the Major.⁽¹⁾ It probably had the distinction of QUEEN'S REGIMENT conferred upon it at the same time that the 2nd Tangier regiment received that of THE DUCHESS OF YORK AND ALBANY'S, namely, in August, 1685. The regiment bears as its badge the Paschal Lamb, which it was directed to exhibit in the three corners of the second colour, by the Royal Warrant of 1751, wherein "the Lamb" is described as "the ancient badge of the regiment;"⁽²⁾ but there is no evidence forthcoming as to when this badge was first acquired. Cannon is vague on the subject, and seems to have believed that the regiment was called "the Queen's" because it was raised to garrison a valuable portion of Her Majesty's dower, and "the Paschal Lamb was the distinguishing badge of Portugal."⁽³⁾ Now as long as the regiment was at Tangiers it was never styled "the Queen's," and the Paschal Lamb never was the badge of Portugal, nor in any way connected with the Portuguese arms. The probability is that Charles II. wished to do honour to two regiments which had deserved well of their country, and whose designation as Tangier garrison regiments was no longer a correct description, therefore called one "the Queen's," and the other "the Duchess of York's." The Queen's took the badge of the Paschal Lamb, and the Duchess of York's the Lion of

(1) P.R.O. *Mil. B. Dom.*, No. 69.

(2) See Appendix E. in Cannon's *Records of the 2nd or Queen's Royal Regiment*, p. 89.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 2.

England, one being as appropriate as the other, and about as intelligible as the second regimental motto of the QUEEN'S, "*vel exuvie triumphant.*" Macaulay states, that "as Kirke's soldiers had been levied for the purpose of waging war on an infidel nation, they bore on their flag a Christian emblem, the Paschal Lamb."⁽¹⁾ But the regiment probably obtained the *sobriquet* of "Kirke's Lambs" at the time of Monmouth's Insurrection, being a sneering manner of speaking of the brutality of the soldiers, in allusion to the device which they then bore. Upon the death of Charles II., the DUCHESS OF YORK'S REGIMENT became the QUEEN'S, and this one the QUEEN DOWAGER'S. No doubt the regiment acquired an evil reputation in 1685. Kirke was by no means an amiable character—quite the reverse—and his uncontrolled sway at Tangiers was not calculated to improve it. Stories of his unbridled licentiousness there were rife at the time. His regiment, or a wing of it, was to escort the Judges in what was afterwards specified as the "Bloody Assize." To have to execute the orders of so brutal a judge as Jeffreys was not likely to increase his popularity, and the Lord Chief Justice was armed for the occasion beyond the terrors of the law with a General's commission, so that he had full powers over the military. Kirke, however, is said to have preyed on his own account on the miseries of the victims. Still, in these matters, there was probably a vast amount of exaggeration. If the stories of his barbarity were true,

(¹) *Hist. of England*, i. 628.

they would have rendered him an object of horror to every human being; but he was well received and distinguished by the Prince who expelled James from the throne, and he died a Lieut.-General on the 31st of October, 1691.⁽¹⁾ At a lapse of only four years after these atrocities were said to have been perpetrated by him, upon his raising the siege of Londonderry on the 21st July, 1689, the inhabitants of Taunton devoted an evening to drinking his health in public,⁽²⁾ an act scarcely reconcilable with the odium which was said to be attached to his name. When at a subsequent period he was taunted with his severity at Taunton, he vindicated himself by asserting that he had acted under orders and *within* them.⁽³⁾ He was in constant correspondence with the Lord-President of the Council, the Earl of Sunderland, who wrote that the King was "very well satisfied with his proceedings." The only rebuke he received was not on account of his severity, but because the King disapproved of his liberating some prisoners (no doubt from mercenary motives), and because his soldiers were living at free quarters. He was told "to take care that no person concerned in the rebellion should be at large, but was to be secured according to the Colonel's former directions."⁽⁴⁾

In 1702, this regiment, then under the command

(1) Cannon, p. 22.

(2) Toulmin's *History of Taunton*, 543.

(3) Oldmixon, ii. 705.

(4) Sunderland to Kirke, July 14th and 28th, 1685. (In *Sunderland Papers*, P.R.O.)

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of Sir Henry Bellasis, formed part of an expeditionary force under the Duke of Ormond. The fleet consisted of fifty sail of the line under Sir George Rooke. The armament appeared off Cadiz on the 12th of August. An attempt made on that place failed, but the troops captured Fort St. Catherine and Port St. Mary. The Duke afterwards landed a portion of the troops six miles from Vigo, and took by assault a battery of forty guns. An attack was made on the French fleet which had convoyed the Spanish galleons from the West Indies, and ten French men-of-war and eleven galleons were captured. After that, great excesses were committed by the victors; Port St. Mary and Vigo were pillaged. Sir Henry Bellasis, who was second in command, was implicated in these acts, and on his return to England was tried by a court-martial and dismissed the service.

In 1703, for its gallant conduct at the reduction of Tongres on the Saar, in Limburg, Belgium, this regiment, although forced to surrender after a most obstinate defence of twenty-eight hours, was made Royal, and obtained the motto—“*Pristina Virtutis Memor.*”

In 1710, Lieut.-Colonel Piercy Kirke, a son of its old Colonel, Lieut.-General Kirke, was promoted Colonel by purchase (*vice* General the Earl of Portmore), and died 1741, in command of the regiment.

On the 1st of August, 1714, King George I. not having a Queen Consort available, the regiment

was called after his daughter-in-law, "THE PRINCESS OF WALES'S OWN REGIMENT OF FOOT;" when she came to share the throne, on the death of George I. in 1727, its appellation was again changed to THE QUEEN'S OWN REGIMENT OF FOOT.

In 1751 a Warrant was issued for numbering the regiments of the army. The Royal Regiment of Foot, from its antiquity, was numbered The First Regiment of Foot, and the Queen's Royal—as it is therein denominated—the next in seniority, thus continuing the directions of Charles II., "that the Tangier garrison regiment shall take precedence next after the Scotch regiment."

A belief was entertained by the Queen's Royal that it had the exclusive privilege of flying a third colour. General Robert Donkin, who had entered the regiment as an ensign in 1747, and served in it until 1759, writes:—"The 2d. regiment of foot had three colours as a distinguishing mark of honour; His Majesty's arms were in the centre of the first, the Queen's cypher in the centre of the second, both of which were in other respects unions; the third was sea-green (the original facing of the corps), and to the best of my recollection the colonel's arms or crest was in the centre. On our marching over Island bridge into Dublin duty, in 1750, this last-

(¹) His wife, the unfortunate Sophia Dorothea of Zell, was in durance in the Castle of Ahlen, where she was detained thirty-two years (until her death, just before that of the King) for suspected misconduct with Count Königsmark, the younger brother of Charles John, Count Königsmark, who was tried in London in 1682 for the murder of Mr. Thomas Thynne. (See Craik's *English Causes Célèbres*.)

mentioned colour (I being then the third ensign) was, by order of General Fowke, taken out of my hands, furled, and never flew since. The men grumbled exceedingly; I felt myself hurt at being deprived of an honour no other corps then enjoyed, and which this had carried since its creation in 1661" (1) (? 1662.)

Up to the Revolution, every company of Infantry (except grenadiers and fusiliers) had a colour; but under William III. regiments were formed into three divisions, viz., two wings of musketeers and a centre division of pikemen. Each division had a colour, that it might act separately.(2) This mode of formation was changed in the reign of Queen Anne, when the general adoption of bayonets took place; and the division of pikemen being discontinued, the third colour became unnecessary, and was consequently laid aside.

It happened, however, that the third colour was retained in possession of the Queen's Royal until the date mentioned by General Donkin, possibly having been overlooked by the authorities, in consequence of the long absence of the regiment on foreign service, it having embarked for Gibraltar in 1730, where it remained until 1749. The privilege was admitted by a Communication from his Majesty, George IV. :—

“Our IInd or Queen's Royal Regiment of Foot

(1) *Military Collections*, p. 132.

(2) See Frontispiece to *Military Discipline, or The Art of War*, by Capt. J. S., 1689.

was raised in the Reign of Our Royal Predecessor, King Charles II.; in honour of whose Consort, Queen Catherine, it received the Denomination of the 'Queen's Regiment,' and had presented to it a Colour by her said Majesty; and that from that period until the 25th year of the Reign of Our late Royal Predecessor King George II. (1750) Our said Regiment continually bore and carried 3 Colours, an honour enjoyed by no other Regiment of the Line in Our Service," &c.—Dated January, 1825."⁽¹⁾

In George II.'s Warrant of the 1st of July, 1751, it is directed, "the King's or First Colour of every regiment is to be the Great Union throughout;" and "the Second Colour is to be the colour of the Facing of the regiment with the Union in the Upper Canton." A subsequent one, issued by George III. on the 19th of December, 1768, contains the same directions as to the "*First and Second Colours of Regiments*," and "the Devices and Badges of the Royal Regiments and of the Six Old Corps." The facings of the Queen's were at this period changed from sea-green to blue.

Neither of these Royal Warrants contains any authority for a *Third* colour. A similar claim for the distinction of flying a third colour was made by the Vth Regiment. To correct this error, William IV. directed "that no Regiment shall under any circumstances whatever display a Third Colour."⁽²⁾ The

(1) *Letter-book*, penes Inspector of Colours, College of Arms.

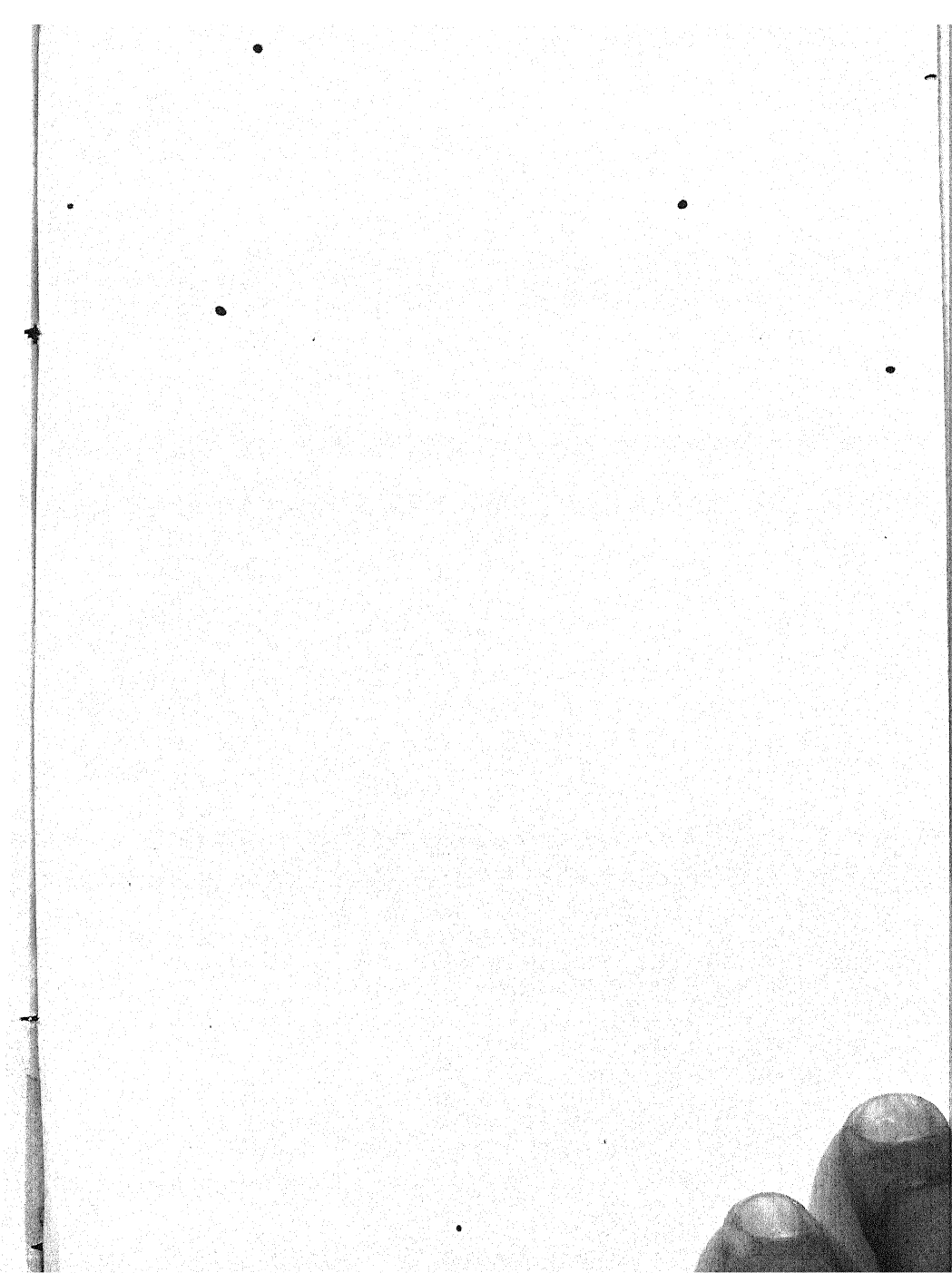
(2) See the letter of the Adjutant-General of the Forces, Sir John Macdonald, dated 14th Aug., 1835, in Cannon's *2nd Queen's Royal* p. 90, also in *Vth Fusiliers*.

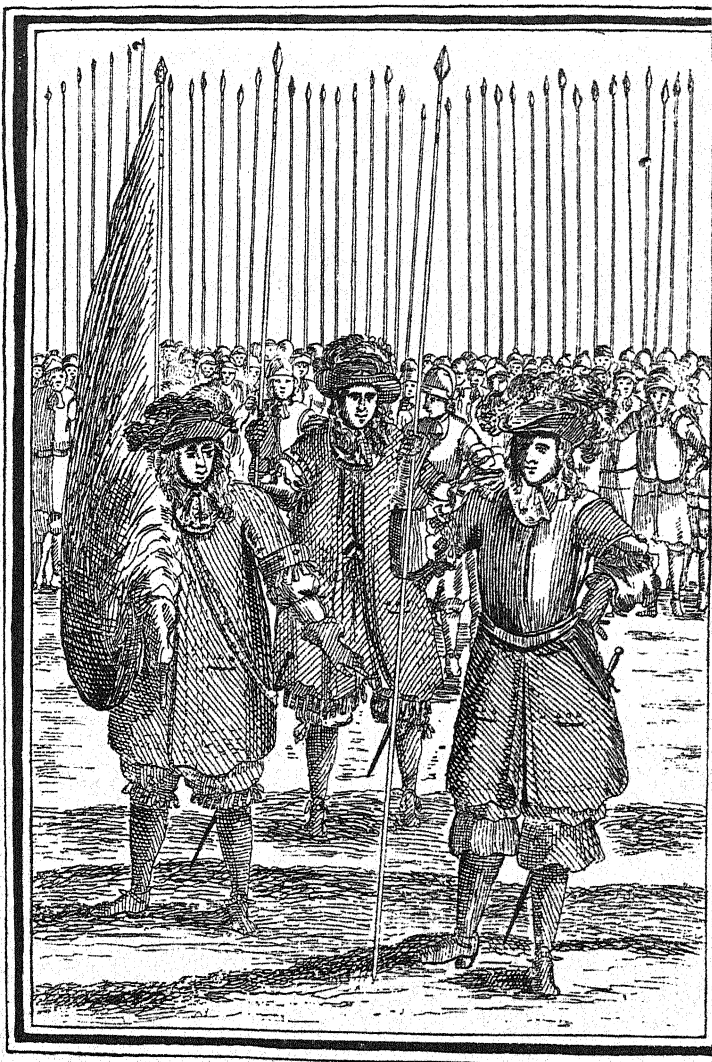
King acted with great consideration to both regiments preferring the claim, explaining that it was solely with the view of establishing uniformity throughout the army, and not with forgetfulness of the uniformly high character of these regiments. In the case of the Vth his Majesty granted an extra distinction, and with respect to the IInd he was pleased to observe: "That if it were wished by the QUEEN'S ROYAL to retain the Third Colour, the King would not insist on its being actually withdrawn, but on no account must it ever be displayed in the Ranks of the Regiment."⁽¹⁾

This proves how highly regimental distinctions are prized, whereby a laudable pride and an *esprit de corps* are generated, which the modern system of levelling for the sake of uniformity tends greatly to obliterate.

Grose (*Mil. Antiq.*, ii. 212), writing at the close of the last century, states: "Before the late regulations brought all regiments to the same standard, THE QUEEN'S was generally considered as a pattern corps. Its present Colonel is Lieut.-General James Coates." This officer had a long tenure of command, being Colonel of the regiment from 20th December, 1794, to 22nd July, 1822, when he died, aged eighty-two.

(¹) On this permission the third (green) colour has been preserved in this regiment up to the present day—not the original one, for that must long ago have yielded to the ravages of time, but a successor, its counterpart in resemblance. The original staff may have survived. It is displayed on the private parade-ground and in quarters, but is furled and cased on the march.





Title Page to Military Discipline, 1689.

An Order dated "Whitehall, 28th June, 1684," directs that new arms should be issued to the 24 companies of the King's regiment of Guards. For each company 43 snaphance muskets (made according to the new pattern), 20 pikes, 2 halberts, 3 large foot poll-axes for corporalls, 2 drums, and 1 drum more for the drum-major; the old arms to be returned into store.

The 12 companies of the Coldstream Guards were supplied in like proportion.⁽¹⁾

A change was introduced in the appointments of officers of infantry, as directed in the following warrant:—

"CHARLES R. For the better distinction of our Corselets.
several officers serving Us in Our companies of foot, Our will and pleasure is that all captains of foot wear no other corselet than of the colour of gold; all lieutenants black corselets, studded with gold; and the ensigns corselets of silver. And We do likewise think fit that all lieutenants of foot carry pikes and not partizans, which We do hereby order to be re-delivered into the Office of Our Ordnance," &c.

"Given at Our Court at Winchester the first day of September, 1684,

"By his Majesty's command,

"SUNDERLAND."

On the 1st of October of this year, the King held

⁽¹⁾ S.P.O. *Dom. Mil.*, Ch. II., No. 62.

a grand review on Putney Heath. The Forces were commanded by the Earl of Craven, and consisted of—

	Men.
Three troops of Grenadiers, commanded by 6 lieutenants . . .	180
His Majesty's First troop of Guards, commanded by the Duke of Albemarle	200
Queen's troop of Guards, commanded by Sir Philip Howard . .	200
Duke's troop of Guards, commanded by the Earl of Feversham .	200
First battn. of the First reg. of Foot Guards, commanded by Major Eyton	530
Second battn. of the First reg. of Foot Guards, commanded by Captain Sackville Tufton	480
Battalion of his Royal Highness's, commanded by Sr Ch. Littleton	530
Battalion of the Royal reg. of Foot, commanded by Sir Jas. Hacket	558
Battalion of the Coldstream Guards, commanded by Lieut.-Col. Ed. Sackville	530
Royal reg. of Horse, commanded by Col. Earl of Oxford . . .	400
Royal reg. of Dragoons, commanded by John Lord Churchill, Col.	300
	<hr/> 4,108

(From *List Military*, &c., printed for N. Brooks, 1684.)

On February 6th, 1685, King Charles II. departed this life in the fifty-fifth year of his age, confirming on his death-bed that attachment to the Roman Catholic Church, of which he had been long suspected; "but notwithstanding," says Dalrymple, "during more than two-thirds of his reign, he had acted in direct opposition to the general views of his subjects, he died extremely lamented by them."

"——— the first English born,
That has the crown of these three kingdoms worn."
(Waller, p. 171.)

"AN ESTABLISHMENT OF ALL OUR GUARDS, GUARISONS, AND LAND FORCES IN THIS OUR KINGDOM OF ENGLAND, IN OUR PAY AND ENTERTAINMENT. TO COMMENCE THE FIRST DAY OF JANUARY, 1679-80." P.R.O. *Audit Off. Establishm^t. B^k.*

	CHARLES R.			Per Diem.			Per Annum.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
General Officers and Contingencies.	Pay Master Generall	1					365		
	Commissaries Generall of the Musters, at 17s. 6d. per diem								
	4 deputy Commissaries for the guarisons, each at 5s. per diem								
	2 deputy Commissaries for the Horse and Foot, each at 5s. per diem	2	12	6			958	2	6
	One deputy Commissary for Guernsey and Jersey, at 2s. 6d. per diem								
	And one Clerke at 2s. 6d. per diem								
	Secretary to the Forces for his owne pay and defraying ye charge of Clerkes under him	1					365		
	Judge-Advocate at 7s. 6d., and one Clerke at 2s. 6d. per diem		10				182	10	
	To Mr. James Vernon		5				91	5	
	Scout-Master-General		15				273	15	
	Adjutant-General which Wee have by Order assigned to Sr Thomas Daniel, for and in consideraçon of his Voluntary Resignaçon of his Commission as Lieut.-Colonell of Our owne regiment of Foott Guards under the command of Colonell John Russell		15				273	15	
	Chirurgeon General		6	8			121	13	4
	Marshall to the Horse		7				127	5	
	A messenger to attend the office of the Secretarie to Our Forces, at Thirty Pounds per annum		1	7	$\frac{23}{32}$		30		
		7	12	$9\frac{33}{32}$			2,788	15	10
	Contingencies	11	11	$11\frac{27}{32}$			4,233	15	
	Totall carried forward	19	4	$9\frac{13}{32}$			7,022	10	10

THE FOLLOWING IS AN ABSTRACT OF THE REMAINDER OF THE ESTABLISHMENT :—

444

THE BRITISH ARMY.

Regiments.	No. of Troops or Cos.	Officers.	Chaplains and Drum Majors.	Serjeants.	Corporals.	Trumpeters and Musicians.	Gentlemen at 4s. per diem.	Troopers at 2s. 6d. per diem.	Privates at 10d. per diem.	Privates at 8d. per diem.	Total.	Cost per Annum. £ s. d.
His Majesties own Troop of Guards .	—	7	2	—	4	5	200	—	—	—	218	17,897 3 4
Her Majesties Troop of Guards	—	5	2	—	4	5	200	—	—	—	216	17,075 18 4
His Royal Highness the Duke of York's Troop of Guards .	—	5	2	—	4	5	200	—	—	—	216	17,075 18 4
His Majesties Regi- ment of Horse . .	Field & Staff 8 Troops . .	2 32	1 —	— —	24 —	17 —	— —	400	— —	— —	476	26,520 5 10
His Majesties own Regt of Foot Guards	Field & Staff 24 Cos. . .	5 72	2 —	48 —	72 —	48 —	— —	— —	1,440	— —	1,688	32,944 5 10
The Coldstream Regi- ment of His Majes- ties Foot Guards .	Field & Staff 12 Cos. . .	5 36	2 —	24 —	36 —	24 —	— —	— —	720	— —	848	17,002 18 4
His Royal Highness the Duke of York's Regiment of Foot .	Field & Staff 12 Cos. . .	5 36	1 —	24 —	36 —	12 —	— —	— —	— —	630	744	13,185 12 6
His Majesties Holland Regiment	Field & Staff 12 Cos. . .	5 36	1 —	24 —	36 —	12 —	— —	— —	— —	600	714	12,820 12 6
Total	—	251	13	120	216	128	600	400	2,160	1,230	5,120	161,545 5 10

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	161,545	5	10
Abstract of his Maties Guarisons and Non Regimented Forces }	42,929	6	1½
Total	£204,474	11	11½ per annum.

The annexed Abstract affords some insight into the administration of the Royal Army. A noticeable feature in its composition is that its officers were gentlemen⁽¹⁾, whereas those who held commissions in the army of the Commonwealth were of a lower social order, and consequently their own necessities obliged them to oppose Parliament in all endeavours to disband them. For the majority had entered the service from no higher motive than self-aggrandisement. The comprehensive mind of the Protector grasped the evil at once; "the King's troops," said he to Hampden, "are gentlemen's sons and persons of quality:—you must get men of a spirit that is likely to go on as gentlemen will go, or else you will be beaten still."

Officers to be
Gentlemen.

The King had uncontrolled power over the army; the only limitation being his ability to pay it. He received the whole Revenue, and contracted, as it were, to defray all the expenses of the State. Charles, elated at his sudden restoration, and grateful to Monck for his conduct of it, conferred on him almost unlimited power over the army, of which he was immediately appointed Captain-general and Commander-in-chief.⁽²⁾ But when on

King's Control.

(1) Clode, i. 28.

(2) See "Commission of General Monck," *Harl. MSS.*, 3,319.

the death of Albemarle the King abolished the office of Lord General, he issued an Order on the 21st Jan., 1670, that nothing should be offered for the Royal signature but what should be first approved of by the Commissioners of the Treasury, and one of the principal Secretaries of State ;⁽¹⁾ and from that date there is no instance in the War Office Records of any Warrant or Order being countersigned by a military officer.⁽²⁾ The details were entrusted to a subordinate civil officer, styled Secretary of the Forces, and subsequently Secretary at War, whose salary is shown in the Abstract to have been £1 a day, including his clerks.

The small amount of the pay of servants of the Crown is striking. But it must be borne in mind that the purchasing power of money was then at least three times greater than it is at present,⁽³⁾ that the mode of life was much less costly, and that all Government officials from the highest to the lowest supplemented their incomes by extortions, bribes, and the sale of offices in their gift which were admitted as legitimate perquisites. The Paymaster-general had only £1 a day, and we have seen what a large fortune he was able to realise. Sir Stephen Fox may have been an honest man, but in the

(1) *Miscellany. Orders from July, 1669, to December, 1692*, p. 4, W.O., P.R.O.

(2) Clode, i. 73.

(3) In Sussex, in 1660, a man-servant's wages were £3 to £5 a year; a cook, £2 10s. to £3; carpenter and gardener, 1s. a day; mowing grass, 16d. the acre; boots, 12s.; shoes, 4s.; a stone of beef, 2s. 1d.; a hind quarter of mutton, 3s. 4d.; a lamb, 7s. 6d.; butter, 4d. a lb. (*Sussex Archæol. Coll.*, i. 79.)

system of keeping public accounts there was no adequate check. A disclosure of the iniquitous irregularities of public officers occurred in 1702 upon the death of William III., when the Commons appointed a Committee to inquire into the state of the Public Accounts of the kingdom. The result was, that the then Paymaster-general was expelled the House for high crime and misdemeanour in misapplying the funds of his office. Nor was he the only delinquent; the heads of all the financial departments were proved to have given in no accounts.⁽¹⁾

That the pay of the soldier was ample is evidenced by the facility with which regiments were raised and recruited, and that one of their greatest punishments was dismissal. A proof also of the difficulty of procuring other employment, and the low rate of artisans' wages.⁽²⁾ The pay of the soldier was divided into "subsistence" and "off- reckonings." The gross pay of a private Footguardsman was 10d. a day, or 5s. 10d. a week. Privates of other foot regiments, 8d. According to Fox's arrangement, the private of the Footguards received 4s. a week in cash as subsistence. With that he had to diet himself, and that was all

Soldiers' Pay.

⁽¹⁾ *Parl. Hist.*, vi. 97—140. Grose, ii. 151. Also see Fifth Report of the Commissioners appointed to examine the Public Accounts of the Kingdom. (*An. Reg.*, xxviii. 288.)

⁽²⁾ By a Broadside *penes* Soc. Ant., "the Rates of Wages of all manner of Artificers, Labourers, and Servants, made and set forth at the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace," in 1685, it appears that "a Master Free-mason received by the day 1s. with meat, 1s. 4d. without; Servants and Apprentices above 18 years, 4d. with meat, 10d. without; Labourers without meat, 9d.; Bailiff of Husbandry, by the year, £5 10s.," &c.

he actually received. The residue of his weekly pay, viz., 1s. 10d., was reserved as off-reckonings, and applied to the following purposes:—

	£	s.	d.
One day's pay to Chelsea Hospital	0	0	10
2d. in the £ to Paymaster-general	0	2	6
$\frac{1}{2}$ d. a week to Surgeon	0	2	2
$\frac{1}{2}$ d. a week to regimental paymaster	0	2	2
	<hr/>		
	0	7	8

The remainder over and above these deductions was called net off-reckonings, and was the property of the Colonel, out of which he was bound to provide clothing under the King's regulations. The soldiers' annual account would stand thus :

	£	s.	d.
Pay	15	4	2
Deduct subsistence, 4s. a week	10	8	0
	<hr/>		
Leaving for off-reckonings	4	16	2
Deduct stoppages	0	7	8
	<hr/>		
Leaving net off-reckonings	4	8	6

Thus £4 8s. 6d. would remain in the hands of the Colonel from each private in his regiment, and as by the 30 Car. II. (1678), the cost of the clothing of a Foot soldier was settled at £2 3s. ⁽¹⁾, a very

(1) It must not be supposed that the difference between £2 3s. and £4 8s. 6d. came net into the Colonel's hands. There were other charges that devolved on him—package and carriage of the clothing, commission to the agent, &c. Hats are not included in the £2 3s. When iron pots were worn, they were provided by the Ordnance, but they were discontinued except for pikemen, and hats with feathers were substituted, which no doubt the Colonel had to find, but still a "considerable profit" must have remained. Knapsacks and great-coats were apparently supplied by Government. Then there were soldiers' necessaries, which

considerable profit must have accrued to him. The clothing of the Guards was much more costly. Clarendon, writing from Dublin in 1686, says "the deductions which had been made in 18 months from a common man in the Reg^t of Guards for clothing came to £4 4s., in other Reg^{ts} of Foot to £2 12s. 9d." (*Corr.*, ii. 34). Arms and armour were supplied by Government, except swords, which the men found. The officers' pay was subject to the same deductions for poundage and Chelsea, which fell hard upon subalterns. For the three field-officers of a battalion held companies in addition to their other pay.⁽¹⁾ They were also allowed servants in proportion to their rank; the Colonel had six, which was probably another source of profit. Moreover, in some instances "dead-payes" were allowed, *i.e.*, the pay of men not in existence.

A "private gentleman" in the Life Guards Troopers' Pay. received 4s. a day, but he had to find his horse.⁽²⁾ A private trooper of horse had to do the same on

must have come out of the off-reckonings. So that at best the above is only a proximate calculation, it being next to impossible to arrive at the details. Much curious information on this subject will be found in Grose, i. 314.

(1) In 1803 Field-officers ceased to hold troops or companies, and additional captains were appointed to them. A non-effective allowance of £20 per annum was made to them in compensation.

(2) "No man shall be received who does not come well armed, and mounted on a good horse, fit for his Majesty's service." (*Instructions for recruiting the troops of Guards*, quoted in Cannon's *Life Guards*.) There are abundant Warrants extant for providing cuirasses, head-pieces, and carbines, but none for horses, swords or pistols. In Albemarle's recommendations on the manner of disbanding the Commonwealth army (*ante*, p. 51), he states "that the swords of the infantry were the pro-

2s. 6d. a day. The pay seems small under those circumstances ; but as the Foot-guardsman could live on 4s. a week, so could the cavalry soldier, and the reason of his receiving three times the amount of pay of the former was, no doubt, for the purpose of enabling him to pay for his horse. Moreover, it was the custom for cavalry horses to be turned out to grass every year from sixteen to twenty weeks, when an apparently anomalous deduction of 1d. a day was paid to the riding-master—for doing nothing.⁽¹⁾ A cornet of horse received only 5s. a day, but he had an allowance of 2s. a day for each of his two chargers, which was far in excess of the cost of their subsistence.

Originally the Captains supplied the clothing to their companies. Numerous abuses naturally arose under such a system, so that it was entrusted to the Colonels.⁽²⁾ This was, however, but a transfer of an objectionable practice. There is an instance, in 1688, of a Colonel buying up the cast-off clothing of a disbanded regiment, and charging for it as new. The

perty of the men ; and the horses, swords and pistols of the cavalry were the troopers' own." Again, at the disbanding of the Dunkirk garrison, the horsemen were enjoined "to dispose of their swords and horses." (*Ante*, p. 218.)

(1) "Statement showing the variations in the Pay of the Army from 1684, from official documents, by Mr. Croomes." Printed in Mackinnon, App. ii., 405.

(2) The 2nd Lord Clarendon (*Corresp.*, i. 341) writing of the Irish army says, "My Lord Arran left the clothing of the reg^t of Guards to each particular captain, which got him the perfect love of the officers. My Lord of Ossory (who succeeded him as Col.) has ordered it otherwise, and sent orders to the Receiver-general to pay the deductions no more to the captains, but that he will appoint one to take care of the clothing of the regiment."

fraud was detected, and he was cashiered. (See page 209.) In the militia and artillery this evil did not exist, their clothing being supplied by Government on the requisition of the commanding officers.

From the evidence given before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1746, ⁽¹⁾ it appeared that the Foot received clothing annually, except waist-coats, which were made out of the coats of the preceding year; the Horse and Dragoons every two years; and the Horse Grenadiers every three years. In many instances, the Colonels made a considerable profit by the net off-reckonings exceeding the cost of the clothing; in one case specified, it amounted to upwards of £578. The Colonels' clothing system survived till after the Crimean War in 1854, when it was reformed by the energies of the Secretary at War, Mr. Sidney Herbert.⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ Grose, i. 320.

⁽²⁾ The eighth anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo is memorable for the Order directing the discontinuance of breeches throughout the British infantry, "Highland regiments and the R. Staff Corps excepted," which were to "continue on their present footing"—or rather legging. Trousers had been worn in some regiments since the commencement of the century, at the option of the Colonels. Overalls buttoned down the outside seams, worn over breeches on marches and fatigue duties, were very generally used, but the buttons proving inconvenient they were discontinued. But tailors retained the term, and advertised "military overalls." Subsequently trousers or pantaloons were worn by cavalry and staff officers, with buttons only from the calf over the boots. It was so in 1815.

"GENERAL ORDER (No. 404).

"Horse Guards, 18th June, 1823.

"His Majesty has been pleased to approve of the discontinuance of Breeches, Leggings (*sic*) and Shoes, as part of the clothing of the Infantry Soldier, and of *Blue Grey* Cloth Trowsers and Half Boots being substituted.

"In order to indemnify the Colonels for the additional expense they

There appears to have been great irregularity in the payment of the army during the latter period of the reign of James II., and likewise in that of William III. In 1694, a number of the officers and men of the Inniskilling Dragoons, who for a long time had received no pay, surrounded the carriage of the Lord-Lieutenant at Dublin, and declared that if their arrears were not settled in a few days they would use force to obtain them. So late as 1718, the VIIth Fusiliers and another regiment, quartered in Wiltshire and Somersetshire, had four years' pay due to them. (Grose, i. 297.)

Agency.

The financial duties of a Colonel necessarily entailed the assistance of an agent, besides a general agent; the former subsequently became the regimental Paymaster. The agency system may be said to have originated in the Agreement made by Fox in 1662. Matters remained in about the same state, till the Pay-Office Act of 1783, commonly called Mr. Burke's Act, transferred all the financial and administrative business of the regiments from the Colonels' agents to the War Office.⁽¹⁾

will in consequence incur, the Waistcoat hitherto provided with the clothing will, from the 25th Dec. next, be considered as an article of necessaries to be furnished by the Soldier, who being relieved from the long and short gaiters, as also from the stoppage hitherto made in aid of the extra expense of the Trowsers (in all cases where such have been allowed to be furnished as part of the clothing of Regts), and being, moreover supplied with articles of a description calculated to last longer than the Breeches and Shoes now issued, cannot fail to be benefited by the above arrangement," &c.

The red piping down the outer seam was added in 1834.

⁽¹⁾ The well-known firm of Cox and Greenwood was established in 1758, by a proposal from Lord Ligonier to Mr. Cox, who had been his Secretary.

The date of the Military Mess,⁽¹⁾ as forming part of the internal economy of a regiment, is uncertain—probably not until the Barrack system was in full operation, about 1740. With the Household troops the case was different, they being quartered in or about London. In 1793, it was ordered that a table should be maintained at the public charge for the officers of the Foot Guards on duty at St. James's, and other Guards connected therewith. A contractor engaged to supply this dinner for £5,500 a year, and a sum of £539 for the purchase of kitchen utensils. The agreement was to take effect as soon as the buildings then being erected at St. James's should be ready. Shortly afterwards a sum of £2,000 a year was added to this amount, in consequence of four officers of the Household Cavalry being added to the list. In the following year, at the request of the officers, who represented that they were at an expense of one guinea and a half for their breakfasts at the coffee-house, an additional sum was granted for this meal.⁽²⁾

The government and discipline of the army was Discipline. carried on solely under the prerogative powers of the Crown, delegated by the Sovereign to his officers. So in Albemarle's commission :

“We give and grant unto you full power and authority, at your discretion, from time to time, and

(1) Originally a dish of meat. From *nesso*, Ital., in its more enlarged sense, “a party dining together.” (Nares's *Gloss*.)

(2) The Correspondence and Regulations for the Table will be found in Mackinnon, ii. 264. In 1680 a table was kept for three officers of the Life Guards on duty at 8s. per diem. (*Add. MSS.*, 5,752, fol. 257.)

at all times, to make, constitute, and ordain laws, statutes and ordinances, for the government, ordering, ruling, and military discipline of our said army or armies."

Every General in command of an army held a commission from the Crown conferring power on him to hold Courts Martial and to execute Martial Law, "though this assumption of power by Charles II. within the realm," says Mr. Clode, "was clearly illegal." ⁽¹⁾ It was, however, carried out; and in the following reign Feversham was directed to hang during Monmouth's Rebellion any persons he thought deserving that punishment.

Although it was admitted that "the sole and supreme power and discipline of all the forces in the realm is and ever was by the Laws of England the undoubted right of the Sovereign, and neither Houses could pretend to the same," ⁽²⁾ yet Parliament—and especially the Commons—repudiated the army as a National force, and consented only to grants for its maintenance in preparation for war, on the understanding that it would be discharged on the return of peace. Parliament concurred in the necessity of speedily repressing the disorders of soldiers, but was at variance with the Crown as to the tribunal by which offenders should be tried, desiring to place the army on the same footing as it

⁽¹⁾ It is not attempted here to discuss military law, on which much has been written in works specially directed to that subject. Reference can be made to them, and to the valuable contributions to military history by the learned Solicitor to the War Office.

⁽²⁾ 13 and 14 Car. II., c. 3.

had placed the militia, viz., as amenable only to the civil magistrate. The military courts, however, recognised no authority save that of the King; and when in 1666 war was declared against France and Holland, and a more stringent military code was thought requisite, drawn up or suggested by Albemarle, one of the provisions was, "No magistrate shall imprison an officer or soldier in Our pay, unless for high treason, or robbing any person not being an officer or soldier;" and another, "No man shall presume to use any braving or menacing words, signes, or gestures, while a Court-marshal is sitting, upon pain of death." ⁽¹⁾ Thus evidencing Cicero's often-quoted dictum, "silent enim leges inter arma" (*pro Milone*, cap. 4).

A standing army was not recognised until the passing of the first Mutiny Act in 1689, which was in fact a contract between the Crown and Parliament as to the number of forces that should be maintained for the safety of the kingdom. Mutiny Act.

Monmouth, when in command of the English army in Holland, issued an Order to commanding officers to summon Courts-Martial, and "to pass such sentence, either of death or otherwise, upon the offenders as the quality of their offence shall in justice deserve." ⁽²⁾

In Ireland, in 1686, a soldier of the Irish Guards was brought before a Council of War, for having

⁽¹⁾ "Orders and Articles of War, composed and corrected by The Advice of The Duke of Albemarle, Capt. Gen^l of His Majesty's Armies. April 9, 1666." (Printed in Clode, i. 446.)

⁽²⁾ S.P.O. *Entry Book*, No. 52.

spoken disrespectful words against Lord Tyrconnel. He was sentenced to "run the gantlet through the whole regiment, and was beaten with that severity that he fell down twice by the way, and was afterwards committed to prison to the Marshal." The Lord-Lieutenant Clarendon reprimanded the Lt.-Col. Dorrington (an Englishman) for the informality of the proceedings, inasmuch as the Judge-Advocate was not present at the trial, and that no examination had been taken upon oath, according to the rules prescribed in the Articles of War, and that the Judge-Advocate had neglected to wait upon him to report the proceedings. (Clar., *Cor.* i. 475.)

In England, in 1685, "a soldier was executed on Tower Hill for running away from his colours." (Luttrell, 361.)

"Captain Owsley (or Ouseley), who lately tost the Mayor of Scarborough in a blanket for abusing the Minister of that town, is turn'd out of his commission, and is retired into Holland." (Sept. 1688.) (*Ibid.*, 461; Ellis, ii. 212.)

"The penalty of sending or accepting a challenge, if he be an officer he shall be cashiered; if a private soldier, he shall ride the Wooden Horse."⁽¹⁾ (*Rules and Articles for the better government of His M^{ties} Land Forces. In Pay. By H. M's. Comd, Lon. 1688.*) (*Lib. R. Un. Ser. Ins.*)

Troops were removed from towns during the

⁽¹⁾ 17s. 6d. was charged for a wooden horse in the accounts of the Coldstream Guards, A.D. 1701. (Mackinnon, ii. 308.)

holding of the Assizes, by an order of Charles II., dated 5th of July, 1672. Their removal during elections of Members of Parliament appears to date from the following Warrant:—

“To the end there may be room for the Freeholders of the Co. of Middlesex at their meeting for election of knights of the shire, the Earl of Oxford’s Troops to quarter at Hammersmith, Kensington, and Knightsbridge in the said Towns, till the election be past.

“MONMOUTH.

“Windsor, 2nd Sept., 1679.

“To Lt.-Col. Kirke, or Officers Commanding Troops above mentioned.” (*Entry Book*, No. 58.)

Soldiers were forbidden to wear a dagger or bayonet except on duty. March 4, 168⁵/₇, *Marching Order B^k*.

“No sentinel or soldier under arms is to bowe or pull off his hat.” (*Abridgm^t of Mil. Disc.*, 1686.)

CHAPTER VIII.

ACCESSION OF JAMES II.—ARGYLE'S INSURRECTION—MONMOUTH
LANDS IN ENGLAND—DEFEATED AT SEDGEMOOR—COMPENSA-
TION TO WOUNDED—ANGLO-DUTCH BRIGADES—FIFTH REGI-
MENT—SIXTH REGIMENT—SCOTS BRIGADE—NINETY-FOURTH
REGIMENT.

The New
Reign.

FROM the bedside of his brother, the Duke of York went forth as James II. He was proclaimed King with the usual formalities at the usual places, and without a shadow of opposition, notwithstanding all that had been said of "Exclusion." He assembled the Privy Council, and delivered a most popular address, wherein he expressed his resolution to maintain the established government both in Church and State. This speech was joyfully received and extensively circulated. A still more popular action followed. He ordered a Parliament to assemble. All officials were likewise to be continued in their employments, and new commissions were granted to all the officers of the army ⁽¹⁾, so that the transmission of the sceptre became imperceptible, and the new reign seemed but the continuance of the former under more auspicious circumstances.

The Coronation took place on St. George's Day, 23rd of April, and no expense was spared to make it

⁽¹⁾ *Mil. Book Dom.*, No. 69, where the regiments are specified, and the dates of the commissions of the officers.

imposing. The line of the procession to Westminster was kept by the Household troops. A full account of the proceedings is given by Sandford.⁽¹⁾

The metropolis was gay and festive—the King and Queen were received everywhere with marks of enthusiasm—the Exclusionists, who expected no mercy when James became King, for they had shown him none when he was a subject, were surprised at his moderation—the nation itself seemed imbued with profound loyalty, and disposed “with every sign of peace and satisfaction throughout the whole kingdom,”⁽²⁾ even to resign its liberties, in full reliance on his sincerity. So that with the capacity for business which (unlike his brother) he possessed, he might have continued a most popular sovereign; but his professions were found to be hollow and insidious; and it soon became evident that he intended to complete his scheme of arbitrary government, which resulted in the consolidation of our national liberty.

He at once recommenced the old practice of intriguing with France. The day after his accession he apologised to Barillon for having called a Parliament, alleging that it was only with a view of getting his brother's revenue settled upon himself, and that his intention was to reign without Parliament, and to promote by all means in his power the establishment of Roman Catholicism in the kingdom.

(¹) *Hist. of the Coronation of James II.*, where the gorgeous attire of the officers and soldiers of the Guards is fully particularised.

(²) Reresby, 315, *ed.* 1875.

Louis immediately remitted 500,000 *livres* in aid of his present exigencies, which James received with tears in his eyes.⁽¹⁾ On the first Sunday of his reign he committed the indiscretion of proceeding in state to the celebration of Mass, instead of attending privately as before.

Cruelities were perpetrated which would be a disgrace to any Christian ruler. Titus Oates—though he richly deserved punishment—was subjected to penalties which excited almost as much abhorrence as his crime. Contrary to the manifest intentions of his judges, he survived the infliction of 1,700 lashes, and lived till after the Revolution, when he received a pardon and a pension of £500 a year. His accomplice, Dangerfield, died from the effects of a similar but less severe sentence.

Conspiracy
abroad.

But while grievances were calmly discussed at home, a storm was gathering abroad. The British exiles in Holland—men of various classes and sentiments, whom the exacting policy pursued in the last reign had driven away—watching the aspect of events, resolved on an invasion. These men, when they met to concert measures, found they had little in common beyond hatred to James and impatience to return home.⁽²⁾ Monmouth and Argyle, from their rank and position, were naturally selected as leaders. Argyle and the Scotchmen had much tyrannical treatment to complain of; but Monmouth had really no grievance, and whatever ambitious views he had formerly

⁽¹⁾ Dalrymple, i. 168.

⁽²⁾ Macaulay, i. 537.

entertained appear to have entirely subsided. In one of his letters written at this time, he says that he had not only "looked back but forward," and the more he considered present circumstances, the more hopeless he thought them; and he had become so enamoured of a retired life, that he was not "likely to be found making a bustle in the world again."⁽¹⁾ Unfortunately, retirement was not the only object of which he was enamoured: in violation of his conjugal ties, he was living with Henrietta, Baroness Wentworth, only child and heiress of the last Earl of Cleveland. His pliant nature was easily persuaded by the arguments of others; and he and Argyle became nominal heads of expeditions, the failure of which might have been predicted from the beginning: neither of them possessing the ability to control the turbulent spirits that composed them.

A simultaneous landing in England and Scotland Preparations. was decided upon. The refugees raised what funds they could to equip these two expeditions. Argyle obtained a loan of £10,000 from a widow in Amsterdam; ⁽²⁾ Monmouth had to raise money on his jewels and on those of the infatuated Baroness. Money was repeatedly promised from sympathisers in England, but none came. By their own unaided exertions, the conspirators purchased or hired some vessels, and collected arms; and these

⁽¹⁾ Letter to Spence, Secretary to the Earl of Argyle; in Welwood, App., p. 323.

⁽²⁾ See a letter written by Argyle, the day before his execution, to thank Madam Smith for her kindness to him; in Wodrow, iv. 302.

were about the only preparations made for the conquest of Great Britain. Argyle, impatient and impulsive, urged the immediate dispatch of the expedition, before the English Government had time to complete measures for their reception; but amidst the discordant elements of which the little army of malcontents was composed, it was difficult to obtain a decision. Many of them, being republicans, were opposed to Monmouth's regal pretensions; the English were jealous of the Scotch, and the Scotch of the English; the Highlanders and Lowlanders had even their feuds; but sympathy in hatred to King James produced at last something like unanimity. Argyle was to set sail for Scotland, and Monmouth to follow and land on the coast of England, with the understanding that he would not assume the title of King, unless it should be advised by the associates as requisite for their common success. To preserve union, two Englishmen, Ayloffe, a lawyer, and Rumbold,⁽¹⁾ a maltster, both of Rye House notoriety, were attached to the Scottish, and two Scotchmen, Fletcher and Ferguson, an Independent minister, to the English expedition.

These matters were not likely to pass unobserved. In fact, for some time the re-appearance of Argyle among his clansmen had been expected by the British Government, and a Proclamation, issued 28th of April, 1685, had announced that Scotland

(1) An old Cromwellian officer of tried courage. When the republican army was disbanded, he turned maltster, and carried on his trade at Hoddesdon, in that building from which the Rye House Plot derives its name.

should be placed in a state of defence. The Marquess of Athole was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Argyshire and Tarbert; the militia and all the fencible men in the northern and eastern counties, but in the western only the heritors and men of substance, were called out.⁽¹⁾ The regular troops were kept in the western parts; the Earl of Dumbarton was sent down as Commander-in-chief; suspected persons were to be arrested or compelled to give security; ships of war were to cruise about the western coasts, and part of the army of Ireland was kept in readiness to be transported from the opposite shores of Ulster.

Skelton was now Minister at the Hague. He applied to the Magistracy of Amsterdam, and afterwards to the States General, to stop the departure of the expedition; but there was evidently no alacrity on the part of the authorities to interfere; they excused themselves on the score of misapprehension, and suffered the little squadron to depart.

It is difficult to suppose that the Prince of Orange was ignorant of these proceedings; but he persuaded Skelton that he did not believe the reports about Argyle and Monmouth. For some time previous to the death of the late King, James and the Prince had not been friendly, but it was to the advantage of both that they should appear on good terms before their subjects. Auverquerque⁽²⁾ was sent over to

Prince of
Orange.

⁽¹⁾ Wodrow, iv. 268.

⁽²⁾ Henry (De Nassau) D'Auverquerque. Came over with the Prince of Orange in 1688. Afterwards Master of the Horse; created Earl of Grantham, 1698.

England on the accession of James, to offer the Prince's apologies for what had given offence to the late or present King, and to offer his submission for the future; and friendly relations were at all events apparently renewed. James was in frequent communication with the Prince about this time, on the subject of the refugees who were residing in Holland. "I see by the same letters," writes James, "how vexed you are that the three ships laden with arms and ammunition from Amsterdam got out to sea, notwithstanding the orders you had given to stop them. I hope you will do your part that no more follow them, and that you will endeavour to know whether the Duke of Monmouth be gone with them, or remains still in Holland, as it is reported."⁽¹⁾

Both the Prince and the Princess of Orange seem to have entertained a great liking for Monmouth, the charm of whose manners and appearance was irresistible. D'Avaux, the French Minister to the United Provinces, repeatedly reported to his Sovereign the extraordinary consideration and friendship of the Prince towards Monmouth, and it appears to have been sincere; for it was continued when, owing to its being resented by James, it was detrimental to the Prince's interests. Nor could it have escaped his notice that Monmouth had already been a rival to the Princess in the succession, and if successful in his present adventure, her chances of inheritance must be greatly diminished. Perhaps he thought the chances of success so small that there

(¹) Dalrymple, App. to Pt. i., B. ii., vol. ii., p. 20.

was a fair prospect of getting rid of a competitor. At all events, it would be regarded as the conflict of Protestantism and liberty against Popery and tyranny, and so would be popular amongst his own Dutchmen. The cautious grandson of William the Silent considered it probably best to close his ears and eyes to what was going on, so that while by no means encouraging the invasion, he took no effective measures to stop it.

The squadron reached Scotland in safety. It touched at the Orkneys, where two of Argyle's people, whom he sent on shore, were arrested by order of the Bishop, and thus the first intelligence of his arrival was communicated to the Government. James wrote to the Prince, May 22nd, 1685: "This morning I had letters from Scotland, which gave me an account that Argyle was landed at a place called Dunstafnage, in the shire of Lorne in the West Highlands, where, with the help of the arms he carried with him, and the interest he had heretofore in that part of the country, I believe he will get a good number of disaffected men together; and though I make no doubt, by God's help, that the rebels will soon be mastered, yet there is no harm of providing for the worst, and therefore I have charged Mr. Skelton to propose to you the lending me the three Scotch regiments that are in your service, to be sent into Scotland; and if this is a thing you can do, the sooner it is done the more reason I shall have to take it very kindly of you.' The whole militia force of Scotland was now set in

Dutch-Scotch
Regiments.

motion, and a portion of it, with 3,000 regular troops, was marched to the West; for the Government could conjecture that Argyle was making for his own country, where the mere mention of the name of MacCullum More was supposed to be sufficient to rouse every Campbell to arms. Here he issued a manifesto, setting forth that the chief object of the expedition was the entire suppression of Popery and Prelacy, and all good Scotchmen were exhorted to come forward in the cause of their country and their God. But the King, by his Proclamations, and more by the severity of his character, deterred, and the Parliament, by the authority of its declarations, overawed the Covenanters—rebellious, yet not daring to rebel.⁽¹⁾ The fiery cross passed from hand to hand with wild celerity;⁽²⁾ but of the leading men of the clan some were already in confinement; others had fled, and those who remained were either well affected to the Government, or afraid to move. The men of less mark, imbued with the sentiment of clanship and fidelity to their

(1) "But ther came not in above two thousand men to him, and many of them joynd throw fear." (Fountainhall's *Historical Observes*, 166.)

(2) *Cream Tarigh, or the Cross of Shame*. This practice was common to the Highlanders with the ancient Scandinavians. See *n. F. to Lady of the Lake*:

"And while the Fiery Cross glanced like a meteor round."

The Scotch executive also used the same means at the same time to arouse the people: "By Order of the Privy Council, the signal of the fiery cross is sent through the west of Fife and Kinross, as nearer to Stirling, that all betwixt 60 and 16 years may rise and oppose Argyle and his forces." (Fountainhall.)

Sir Walter Scott mentions that the Fiery Cross often made its circuit, so late as the Rebellion of '45.

chieftain, ranged themselves under the Earl's standard. The total of the force was about eighteen hundred men, which he distributed in three regiments.

Argyle was not a free agent. That diversity of opinion which had manifested itself at the outset continued unabated, and prevented combined action. The differences of the leaders, however, were terminated by the appearance of a Royal squadron; the vessels of the invaders, five thousand stands of arms, three hundred barrels of powder, and the Earl's standard with the inscription "Against POPERY, PRELACY, and ERASTIANISM," fell into the hands of the Royalists.

"There was a great fray and stir in Edinburgh on the apprehension that Argyle being forced to leave the sea by the King's men-of-war, he had landed at Cowell, and aimed to surprise Stirling. Whereupon the militia regiment of Edinburgh was instantly appointed to march away to Stirling."⁽¹⁾ Argyle determined to make a bold push for Glasgow; but wherever he directed his march, he found himself opposed or followed by strong bodies of regulars and militia. Driven from the roads, he attempted to thread his way among the hills and morasses; but his followers, now losing heart, were rapidly deserting, till his force dwindled down to five hundred men. During the darkness of night, he deemed it prudent to abscond from them. Accompanied by

(1) "The militia of Edinburgh, about the 4th June, was instantly commanded to march to Sterling, tho' it was Sunday." (Fountainhall, 168.)

Major Fullarton, he re-crossed the Clyde (June 17th), but was stopped by a party of militia at the ford of Inchinnan, surrounded, and struck to the ground with a sword, made prisoner, and brought before Dumbarton at Glasgow. Thus ended this unhappy piece of folly.

Argyle's
Execution.

Argyle was conveyed to Edinburgh, and treated with every indignity. He was executed at the Market-cross on the 30th of June, and his head was affixed on the Tolbooth. His last hours were full of dignity, gentleness, and confidence in the righteousness of his cause. It is recorded of him that, after his final meal, before proceeding to execution, he lay down and slept—as was his wont—so calmly, that the officer who came to summon him to death slunk away overpowered at the sight.⁽¹⁾ His invasion aroused no great excitement in the South. The Commons had voted the same revenue to James for his life which the late King had received, and resolved that they would stand by his Majesty with their lives and fortunes against Archibald Campbell and any rebels or traitors whatsoever; and they entirely relied in his Majesty's gracious Word, and repeated Declaration to support and defend the Religion of the Church of England, as by law established, which was dearer to them than their lives.⁽²⁾

The arrival of the other portion of the expe-

⁽¹⁾ Wodrow, iv. 303.—This incident is portrayed in one of the cartoons on the walls of the House of Parliament.

⁽²⁾ *Coms. Jours.*, 22nd, 23rd, and 29th May.

dition, and the landing of Argyle's fellow-invader, presented a far more dangerous adversary; and consequently the public mind was greatly agitated. The secrecy maintained with regard to its destination is surprising. On the 19th of May, James wrote to the Prince: "I have reason to believe the phanatick party have a desire to rise, if they can, in some part of England, and that the Duke of Monmouth is already privately here. I am taking the best care I can to prevent it." Skelton had made very strong remonstrances to the Admiralty authorities at Amsterdam to stop the departure of the *Helderenbergh*, a suspicious privateer carrying 26 guns, but the Board replied that it had not sufficient strength at hand to seize a vessel of that size, and she was suffered to depart.

Monmouth had agreed to follow Argyle in the course of a week; yet three elapsed before he left Amsterdam, and another before the expedition, consisting of the frigate and two small vessels, left the Texel. It is not certain whether the delay was unavoidable; possibly Monmouth may have entertained hopes that, by the progress of Argyle's insurrection, all the regular troops in the south would be moved to Scotland. The boisterous state of the weather was favourable to the escape of the little squadron from the vigilance of the royal cruisers, enabling it to pass unobserved down the Channel. On the morning of June 11th (O.S.),⁽¹⁾

Monmouth's
Squadron.

(1) The difference between the Old and New Style up to the year 1699 was ten days, which number must therefore be added to the Old to

it appeared off Lyme, and brought up within the Cobb, a long stone pier said to have been constructed in the time of Edward III. The revenue officers boarded the frigate, as in duty bound, and there they were detained. This circumstance caused the authorities of the little place to regard the squadron with suspicion. This view was subsequently confirmed, when the post arrived at the usual hour of five P.M., and brought a weekly newsletter, wherein was mentioned that his Majesty had received advice of three ships, laden with arms, having sailed from some port of Holland; that they were cleared for the East Indies, but they were supposed by the English Ambassador to be intended either for England or Ireland, and that the Duke of Monmouth was on board.

The magnates of the Borough were now able to congratulate themselves on their penetration, and repaired to a tavern to consider what steps should be taken. The Deputy-searcher of the Custom-house suggested that a great gun should be fired off to vindicate their dignity; the Mayor thought this reasonable, had there been any powder and shot.⁽¹⁾ The town-council continued in deliberation—towards sunset the Customs' boat and three others were descried, full of armed men, approaching the shore, and the vessels had been brought within gun-

bring it to the New. Most of the accounts of this Rebellion preserve the dates of the Old Style, which have therefore been followed in this part of the work.

(1) "Account of the Duke of Monmouth's landing" (probably the Mayor's) in *Harl. MSS.*, No. 6,845.

shot of the town. The Mayor now ordered the town drums to be beaten, which was the summons to arms of the Borough Militia; for whose use the Corporation kept a few muskets in store, for the cleaning of which entries appear in the Borough archives. All that is recorded of the conduct of this force is, that John Holloway was one who presented himself to oppose the Duke's landing, but not being properly supported—his Captain having fled—and he being probably the sole representative of the corps, joined the Duke's party, for which he was afterwards hanged.⁽¹⁾

Monmouth landed on the beach with about eighty followers well armed; among whom were Lord Grey of Wark, Fletcher, Ferguson, Nathaniel Wade, a sharp lawyer, formerly of Bristol; and Anthony Buysse, an officer who had been in the service of the Elector of Brandenburg. His first act was to fall on his knees and offer a prayer for the success of the enterprise; then drawing his sword, he led the way into the town. The Mayor and principal inhabitants had fled, but those who remained were summoned round a blue flag, planted on the market-place, to listen to "THE DECLARATION OF JAMES, DUKE OF MONMOUTH, AND NOBLEMEN, GENTLEMEN, AND OTHERS NOW IN ARMS," &c., a very long and injudicious composition, said to have been written by Ferguson; wherein James is pronounced an usurper, and guilty of every crime that could be imputed to him, even of poisoning his

The Landing.

(1) Roberts's *Life of Monmouth*, i. 226.

brother, the late King. The objects of the invaders were stated to be the re-establishment of the Protestant religion, and the abolition of all penal laws against Dissenters, or any religionists whatsoever; to procure annual Parliaments, upright judges; to restore ancient charters; to repeal the Militia and Corporation Acts; to place the choice of Sheriffs in the freeholders of counties; and to allow a standing army only by authority of Parliament. It further stated that whereas the nobility, gentry, and commons of Scotland were in arms upon like motives, mutual co-operation was promised towards carrying out the glorious work. In conclusion, it declared that the Duke of Monmouth would pursue James, Duke of York, as a mortal and bloody enemy; that he could prove the *legitimacy* of his right to the crown, but that he should not at present insist on his title, but leave the determination thereof to the wisdom of a free Parliament.

When Monmouth issued this Declaration, he must have been sanguine of success, or have made up his mind to conquer or to die. From the King, it is evident, he could expect no mercy; nor were these slanderous assertions likely to attract thinking men. But they were not unskilfully framed for the purpose of exciting the religious and political prejudices of the populace. The proof of this is that not a nobleman or gentleman openly declared in his favour; but the common people crowded to his standard; about sixty young fellows offered themselves just after the landing; arms were distributed,

companies formed, and officers appointed. Before the next morning several hundreds had entered themselves as volunteers.⁽¹⁾

The reasons why the West of England was selected are obvious. Monmouth could not have forgotten his triumphant "Progress" through Wiltshire, Devonshire, and Dorsetshire in 1680; how the houses of the "country party" were thrown open to him with regal hospitality; how Thomas Thynne, of Longleat, was in consequence removed from the colonelcy of a regiment of Wiltshire Horse Militia;⁽²⁾ and how the peasantry flocked around him to vociferate their admiration of "the Protestant Duke." Doubtless he hoped to find the same state of things now. Moreover, a spirit of disaffection had been abroad for some time in these parts, and the attention of Government had been directed towards it. In the spring of 1684 Judge Jeffreys went on circuit there, and reported to the Secretary of State that several Dissenters had been convicted, but that the gentry were loyally disposed.⁽³⁾ It was, however, well known that the great body of inhabitants—a hardy and turbulent race—cherished a strong antipathy to the existing Government, a feeling that was kept alive by religious persecution. Taunton was considered the head-quarters of the factious. It is said to have then contained a larger population than at present, engaged in the making

Factionous
Taunton.

(1) Wade's Confession, in *Harl. MSS.*, No. 6,845; transcribed in *Hardwicke Papers*, ii. 306.

(2) Sir Leoline Jenkins's Coll. (P.R.O., *Dom.*, ii. 56.)

(3) S.P., *Dom.*, No. 453. 14th March, 1683-4.

of serge; and these manufacturers, it appears, were mostly Dissenters. ⁽¹⁾ The old Roundhead feeling had not died out, nor the recollection of the long siege, when the town held out for the Parliament against 10,000 troops under Lord Goring. On the Restoration, the walls were so completely razed that their site cannot now be traced. James, in one of his letters to the Prince, writing of Monmouth, says, "He has opened his way to Taunton, which is a very factious town, and where he may increase his numbers." ⁽²⁾

Dare, one of the associates, had been a goldsmith at Taunton, where he possessed considerable influence. In 1680 he had been convicted of using seditious words, for which he had been sentenced to pay £500, to be imprisoned till it was paid, and to be bound for three years in good behaviour. ⁽³⁾ He and another were put on shore before the vessels reached Lyme, and were to make their way to Taunton. They, however, did not venture to enter the town, as it was full of militia; but they took what means they could to inform sympathisers of the arrival of Monmouth.

The numbers of the insurgents continued to increase hourly. To remain inactive at Lyme would be fatal, for the Duke of Albemarle, Lord-Lieutenant of Devonshire, had arrived at Exeter about the first week in June, and the County Militia was at this very time being exercised under his

⁽¹⁾ Roberts, i. 298.

⁽²⁾ Dalrymple, ii., *App.*, p. 23.

⁽³⁾ *Lond. Gaz.*, No. 1,501.

command. The Dorsetshire Militia was mustered at Bridport, only eight miles from Lyme, and Sir William Portman was daily expected from London to take command, as a Deputy-Lieutenant, of that of Somersetshire. It was, therefore, of vital importance that the insurgents should act promptly; and regiments were immediately formed and designated as "the Duke's," the "White," "Blue," "Yellow," and "Green," comprising more than three thousand men.⁽¹⁾

On the third day after the landing, Dare returned from Taunton, bringing with him about forty horsemen. Towards evening, Monmouth ordered a body of four hundred men to march during the night, and drive out the militia from Bridport. The joint command of the cavalry was given to Grey and Fletcher. Just before their departure a disaster occurred, the effect of which was irreparable. Fletcher had seized a fine horse which Dare had brought in that morning, considering that as commander of the horsemen he ought to be well mounted, and that Dare was in a civil capacity as secretary and paymaster. Dare resisted the capture—high words ensued—it is said he struck the other—upon which Ferguson drew his pistol and shot him dead. The men assembled tumultuously, and demanded the punishment of the assassin. Monmouth, to appease them, and to screen his officer from their vengeance, sent him under arrest to the

The First
Disaster.

(1) "The Horse, 600; Black Regt., 600; White, 400; Red, 800; Green, 600; Yellow, 500; total, 3,500." (Wade.)

frigate, and ordered the captain to sail for Spain.⁽¹⁾ The Duke was thus deprived of the services of the most competent officer—if not the only one—fit for military command, and also of one who possessed great influence among the lower classes of that part of the country.

Under shadow of the night, the detached force, consisting of 400 foot and 40 horsemen, moved out towards Bridport. Wade says that Grey commanded in chief, but was directed to take the advice of Colonel Venner.⁽²⁾ At break of day the rebels surprised the bridge at the entrance to the town, and pushed through the long street; the militia retired, and the insurgents were masters of the position, together with some of the militia horses who were running about without riders. The militia officers, however, prevailed on their men to make a stand at the other end of the town, and to open fire upon the insurgents, by which two of them were killed. Grey, with the horse, instantly fled; Venner, who had been previously wounded, followed their example, and the panic seized the whole force. By Wade's spirited exertions, a partial rally was effected, and the retreat proceeded in decent order, with a few prisoners and some thirty

(1) He reached the Continent in safety, repaired to Hungary, and afterwards fought bravely against the Turks. At the Revolution he offered his services to the Prince.

(2) Wade.—Venner is described as a Captain in the list of those who embarked on the expedition. He was the son of Venner, the leader of the Fifth-monarchy Men, and is mentioned in Carleton's Memoirs (p. 16) as being an officer in Sir John Fenwick's Anglo-Dutch Regiment.

horses brought in. The day's work was disappointing to the Duke, who perceived how little reliance could be placed on the military prowess of Grey, or on men unaccustomed to discipline. Wade says that Monmouth asked him if it was true that Lord Grey had run away. He answered Yes, at which the Duke seemed much surprised, but continued him in command.

The Mayor of Lyme, like a discreet man, had mounted his horse and ridden out of the town as Monmouth entered it. He made all speed to Honiton, alarmed the country through which he passed with news of the landing, and sent on messengers to inform the authorities of Dorsetshire and Somersetshire. The news, brought by a horse-express, reached the King at Whitehall at 4 a.m. of Saturday, 13th June. The Houses of Parliament met at their usual hour, between nine and ten in the morning, and it was communicated to them. An Address was drawn up and presented in the afternoon. On the 15th the Lords and Commons agreed that the "Declaration should be burnt by the hands of the common Hangman; that the Duke of Monmouth should be attainted of High Treason, as also any-one asserting his legitimacy; and that His Majesty be prayed to issue a Proclamation, promising a reward of £5,000, to any person that shall bring in the body of James, Duke of Monmouth, dead or alive." ⁽¹⁾ On the 18th a sum not exceeding £400,000 was ordered for the King's present extraordinary occasions.

Country
alarmed.

(1) *Coms. Journs.*, ix. 737.

Albemarle had written on the 12th of June for a reinforcement of regular troops. Lord Sunderland replied that four troops of horse, two of dragoons, and five companies of foot were to march immediately to Salisbury, and that Colonel Kirke was with them; but that the King thought "that as long as the Duke of Monmouth should stay in Lyme, he should forbear to attempt anything against him except upon great advantages." The King placed entire confidence in his Grace's conduct and zeal, and reminded him that he had power to march the militia out of his county, and to seize all suspected persons.⁽¹⁾

Monmouth had received intelligence of the march of the Devonshire and Somersetshire militia, with the design of surrounding him in Lyme. The King was in hopes that they would have effected this, but in a letter to the Prince of Orange (June 17th) he says:—

Anglo-Dutch
Regiments.

"When I wrote to you yesterday, I thought the militia would have kept the Duke of Monmouth shut up within Lyme, but by the fault of those of Devonshire and Somersetshire, he has opened his way to Taunton, . . . and though with the troops I have raised and am raising, I make no doubt of mastering him in some small time, yet to make all sure, I desire you to lend me the three English regiments that are in your service, and they may be sent over with all possible speed." ⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ *Sunderland Papers*, P.R.O.

⁽²⁾ Dalrymple, ii. *App.*, p. 23.

There were at this time six regiments of British subjects in the service of the Dutch Republic, three British and three Scotch. The three former were raised in 1674, from the disbanded officers and soldiers of the King's army, at the peace between England and the United Provinces; the latter, having lost much of their nationality from foreigners having been enlisted, were in existence at an earlier period. It has been stated that, on the landing of Argyle, application had been made to the Prince for the loan of the three Scotch, to be sent to Scotland. The Prince offered to come with them, and to do what service he could for the King. James replied somewhat drily, that he thought it best for their common interest that he should remain where he was. The Scotch regiments were landed at Gravesend (June 30th), too late, however, for active service in Scotland. Dalrymple hints that the delay was not altogether unintentional. The King inspected them at Blackheath on the 3rd of July, and expressed himself highly pleased with their appearance and performance, and on the next day they passed through London on their way to the west instead of the north.⁽¹⁾

(1) "Whitehall, 4th July, 1685.—This day, three Scots Regiments of Foot, consisting of about 1,500 men, lately come from Holland, marched through the City, on their way to Hounslow Heath, where they are to encamp. They are the best men, and the best prepared for service, that ever were seen. Having their tents and all other necessities with them. To-morrow the three English regiments are expected from Holland.

"WILLIAM BLATHWAYTE.

Secretary at War."

"To the Duke of Albemarle," &c.

On July 3rd, the King writes thanking the Prince for sending off the English at once, and adds, "If they be but as good as the Scotch regiments, which I saw this morning, I shall be doubly pleased; for as to these I have seen, there cannot be, I am sure, better men than they are, and they do truly look like old regiments." Sunderland informed Albe-marle (July 6th) that the three Scotch regiments would arrive at Amesbury on Friday; but on the 7th, in consequence of the total defeat of the rebels, they were ordered to halt at Bagshot or Hartley Row, and to remain there until further orders.

Mistrust of the
Militia.

James had no great confidence in the militia, and he dispatched without loss of time what troops he could spare from the metropolis. Churchill, promoted to be a Brigadier and second in command, marched in advance with two troops of Royal Dragoons and a portion of Oxford's Horse Guards. Feversham, in chief command, followed on the 20th of June with the main body, which consisted of a troop of Life Guards, and its grenadiers, two troops of Dragoons, 12 companies of the 1st Regiment of Guards, and a battalion of the Coldstream (7 companies); and 5 companies of Dumbarton's, and a troop of Royal Horse Guards (Oxford's) commanded by Sir Thomas Compton, marched from London in charge of a train of sixteen pieces of brass ordnance from the Tower. In addition to these, the other troops of the Royal Regiment of Horse, which were scattered in quarters at Portsmouth, Chichester, and in the vicinity of London, were ordered to collect

and join Feversham; a train of artillery of eight guns was on its march from Portsmouth to Chippenham, escorted by five companies of Trelawny's, while five of Kirke's were *en route* from Plymouth.

In addition to the militia of the counties already named, the Duke of Beaufort was to secure Bristol with such force of the Gloucestershire, Monmouthshire, and Herefordshire regiments, as he should consider requisite. The Earls of Gainsborough and Pembroke were to draw towards Salisbury with the Hampshire, the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Abingdon to march to Reading with the Berkshire and Oxfordshire, and the Surrey to Farnham. The Earl of Dorset was directed to send the militia horse of Sussex to suppress the rebels about the New Forest. Two military officers, Sir W. Stapleton and Captain Spalding, were sent down to advise and assist the Duke of Beaufort, and Colonel Cannon (of the 3rd Anglo-Dutch regiment) to the Duke of Somerset, and Sir Edmond Andros ⁽¹⁾ to the Earl of Gainsborough. The King being of opinion that Monmouth's attention would be directed to Bristol, Churchill was instructed to watch the movements of the rebels, and post himself between them and that city.

On Monday morning, June 15th, Monmouth

(1) Major Edmond Andross is mentioned as an officer of the regiment of Dragoons raised by Prince Rupert in 1672. In the list of the twenty-six Royal Governors of New York, in Dr. Callaghan's *Colonial History of New York*, is the following entry:—"1674. Major Sir Edmond Andros, Soignour of Sausmarez, afterwards Gentleman of the Privy Chamber." According to Clarendon (*Corr.*, i. 393), he appears to have been Governor of New England in 1686.

and his army marched out of Lyme. Wade, who commanded the van, estimates their number at near 3,500. Probably many more would have joined, had there been arms for them. One of the errors committed was the bringing over armour instead of arms. Wade states that Monmouth's plan of operations was to march to Taunton, Bridgwater, Bristol, Gloucester, and then to London. The Somerset and Devon militia were marching towards Axminster to effect a junction, but they hastily retired on Monmouth's forces coming in sight. Wade advanced to attack the Devonshire horse, which had approached close to him, but he received orders from the Duke not to engage.

Error of Judgment.

Monmouth did not wish to bring his men into collision with the King's troops until they had been a little more disciplined; and this seems to have been another error, for he—accustomed to the formalities of regular troops—had not the genius to perceive that in desperate enterprises rapid movements alone are likely to succeed, but that delays give to conspirators time for reflection, and to adversaries for preparation. Oldmixon says that had he followed up the militia, he might have taken Exeter and their store of arms, for the militia were no enemies to his cause.⁽¹⁾ A successful dash would have had the best possible effect on the spirits of his army, and on the waverers who were awaiting the course of events. He rested at Axminster that night, and marched next day to Chard.

(1) *History, sub anno.*

On the 18th he was at Taunton, and "the factious town" did not belie its character. Monmouth received a perfect ovation there. Every one who had a horse rode out to meet him. The narrow streets were strewed with flowers, and so thronged that he could scarcely march in. Two schoolmistresses (afterwards excepted from the King's pardon), at the head of their pupils, presented twenty-seven stands of colours, worked by their own hands, and a Bible. Monmouth assured them he had come to seal the truths contained in it with his blood, if there should be any occasion for it.⁽¹⁾ Here an important step was decided upon—that he should assume the title of King, on the plea that the uncertainty of his position being detrimental to his success, and the gentry hating the name of a republic. A royal proclamation was thereupon issued. One of the flags presented to him bore the device of J. R. and a crown, so now there were two kings in England of the name of James.

On the day previous had occurred the first encounter of the rebel forces with the regular troops. The *London Gazette* (June 18th to 22nd) gives the following report of it:—

"An account from Chard of the 19th states that my Lord Churchill, on his arrival there, sent out Lieut. Monaux⁽²⁾ with 20 commanded men, and a

⁽¹⁾ Echard, ii., B. iii., ch. 1.

⁽²⁾ Sir Humphrey Monoux was M.P. for Bedfordshire in Charles II.'s last Parliament in 1680; perhaps, the father of Lieutenant Philip Monoux.

Quarter-master of the Earl of Oxford's reg^t; they came up within two miles of Taunton with a body of the rebels of the same number, and charging them, killed twelve of them upon the place, and wounding most of the rest, and then perceiving another party of the rebels they retired. Lieut. Monaux was shot in the head so that he cannot live, and three of his men were wounded. This party of the rebels were very well armed, being their best men."

Scythe-men.

The spot where this cavalry skirmish took place was about half a mile distant from the village of Ashill, and it is still called the "Fight Ground." It was but an inconsiderable affair, but it decided Monmouth to remove from Taunton lest he should be surrounded. The scarcity of arms was the great want felt all through the insurrection. To remedy this, it was determined to form a body of scythe-men to act in advance, and Monmouth issued a royal warrant to impress all scythes. They were fixed on straight poles, and were very formidable weapons—especially against cavalry—fit to be used by a stout and undisciplined peasantry.⁽¹⁾

Monmouth's next halting-place was Bridgwater; he reached Glastonbury on the evening of the 22nd. On that day Sunderland wrote to the Earl of Bath to dispatch the two Eastern regiments of Cornish militia to Saltash; he also informed him of the defeat of Argyle. The Secretary of State addressed

(1) Roberts, i. 328—Some of these weapons are preserved in the Tower. See Hewitt's *Official Catalogue*, p. 59.

the Earl of Feversham to the effect that the King, believing that the fourteen days of keeping together the militia would expire in three days, his Majesty gave his lordship power to continue in his service all who might be willing to remain upon the same pay as his own troops of horse and foot.

The London Gazette of June 24th announced that Lord Churchill on the 22nd sent a party of forty horse from Langport, who fell in with a number of the rebels and beat them into their camp. The Duke of Albemarle (who had put three companies into Lyme) was with the Devonshire militia at Wellington; the Duke of Somerset at Bath with the Somersetshire; and the Duke of Beaufort at Bristol, with the several militia regiments under his command. Feversham arrived on Monday with a detachment of Grenadiers of the Horse Guards and of the Dragoons at Chippenham, where the Earl of Pembroke with the militia of Wiltshire joined him, and that of Hampshire was expected the next day. The Duke of Grafton was likewise marching with His Majesty's Foot Guards, followed by a train of artillery. The mounted militia of Sussex under Lord Lumley—a convert from Romanism, but loyal to his Catholic Sovereign—were directing their march westwards. The Oxfordshire, under Lord Abingdon, were on the alert, and the gownsmen of the University were eager to enrol themselves in the King's cause. A strong company of them was formed under the

command of Lord Norreys, consisting of 114, besides officers. ⁽¹⁾

Number of
Insurgents.

Notwithstanding that it was now evident that the upper classes were averse to the pretensions of Monmouth—not a single person of note having joined the rebel army—still its numbers were daily increased by the labouring classes and small farmers and tradesmen. They marched into Bridgwater six thousand strong, ⁽²⁾ and the uniforms of deserting militiamen were frequent in the ranks. Meanwhile the royal troops were concentrating; all being dispatched that could be safely spared from London, and the cavalry continually harassed the rebels on their march.

Bristol to be
attacked.

On the 20th of June Monmouth was at Glastonbury; on the 24th at Shepton Mallet. He appeared to act upon no fixed plan of operations, but to move hither and thither wherever recruits were most likely to be procured. "Here," says Wade, "the officers were first informed of the intention to attack Bristol." Wade was a Bristol man, and advised the Duke to cross the Avon at Keynsham Bridge, and to attack the city on the Gloucestershire side. His advice was followed; for Bristol had fortifications, which on the north of the Avon were weak, but strong on the south towards Somersetshire. Feverham marched into Bristol this day at the head of two hundred and fifty of the Horse Guards. If Monmouth could have entered first, possibly Beaufort's militia would not have stood their ground.

⁽¹⁾ *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 846. ⁽²⁾ *Oldmixon, sub anno.*

With such a prize, how the peasant army would have been encouraged. But he was deficient in energy and enterprise, and his yielding nature utterly unfitted for such rough work as he had undertaken.

He went on to Pensford, five miles from Bristol, and there learnt that the bridge at Keynsham had been broken down to prevent his crossing. At nightfall he sent a troop of horse to repair it, and this was done, although the work was interrupted by a troop of Gloucestershire militia horse, which was gallantly repelled. The weather continued rainy and stormy. The attempt on Bristol was to be made that night. Monmouth countermarched to Keynsham, but the army had scarcely entered the town when it was suddenly alarmed by the appearance of a body of Life Guards, under Major Oglethorpe, which dashed in from two separate points. Some lives were lost here, but the royal troops were driven out, and, from three prisoners made, Monmouth learnt that the King's army, four thousand strong, was near at hand.

The information of the approach of the royal forces caused Monmouth to give up the attack on Bristol. It was resolved to proceed to Wiltshire, where he was assured that a considerable body of horsemen were prepared to join him. He marched on to Bath, which he summoned to surrender, but the inhabitants killed the herald, and closed the gates.

The Duke, not willing to linger, led on to

Philips-Norton. The foot lay out in the field, the horse in the town. Feversham had followed them with the intention of falling upon their rear. Next morning, as the rebel forces were preparing to march, they were alarmed by the approach of the King's advanced guard, under the Duke of Grafton. The royal half-brothers met here in close proximity. Twenty horse-grenadiers and a company of the King's regiment of Guards, one hundred strong, were sent on in front to feel the way, and when in a lane leading to the little town were attacked by the rebels, who were posted on each side behind the hedge-rows. The troops were thus exposed to a cross-fire; they behaved well, led on by young Grafton, who made his reconnoissance, and, finding the rebels in force, withdrew his men and fell back on the main body. Eight guardsmen were killed, thirty wounded, and eight taken prisoners. Monmouth then planted his few guns in the lane, and an artillery duel was kept up for some hours with the usual result. Monmouth lost one man, and Feversham not one. In the night, Monmouth drew off his wearied men to Frome amidst torrents of rain.

Argyle's De-
feat.

It was here that he first received positive intelligence of Argyle's discomfiture. On the 22nd of June the obsequious Commons voted acknowledgments to his Majesty for informing them of "the taking of that Arch-Traitor, the late Earl of Argyle, which the House received with all imaginable joy and satisfaction;" and on the 25th *The London Gazette*

published the news that an express had been received at Edinburgh on the 19th from the Earl of Dumbarton, announcing the capture of Argyle and the dispersion of the rebels.

James evidently thought that the troops he had in hand were sufficient to cope with Monmouth's army. For Sunderland issued orders that in consequence of the entire defeat of the rebels in Scotland, the Irish forces which were ordered to cross to Scotland were countermanded, and the thousand foot which had arrived at Chester should be carried back in the vessels which were to have conveyed them to Scotland.

Irish Forces
sent back.

This was disastrous news for Monmouth. The melancholy forebodings as to the result of his adventure, which had forced themselves upon him, were now alarmingly aggravated. The country had disappointed his expectations; his staff was composed of those only whom he had brought with him, and with his military experience he must have felt—notwithstanding some temporary advantages—how incapable his half-armed and undisciplined peasantry was of contending against regular troops. It was, therefore, seriously debated—inasmuch as the objects of the expedition had failed—whether it would not be a merciful expedient to those concerned in it to abandon further operations, so as to admit of his followers taking the benefit of the King's pardon, which had been offered; and whether Monmouth and his officers should not make for the most convenient sea-ports and escape to the Conti-

Melancholy
Forebodings.

ment. The project was, however, overruled by a large majority; Lord Grey being one, which does not savour of cowardice. The Duke, therefore, resolved to stand by his army. He did not abandon hopes that the Guards would not fight against their former commander, and that the Dutch regiments would come over to him. Notwithstanding the resolution which had been arrived at, Venner, Parsons, and another officer stole away,⁽¹⁾ and 2,000 of the men are said to have deserted on that day.⁽²⁾

Monmouth
retreats.

Monday, June 29th.—The King's army marched to Westbury. Why Feversham did not follow Monmouth to Frome is not apparent, unless it was for the purpose of preventing him from entering Wiltshire and proceeding to the east. In that case the movement was successful; for Monmouth altered his course, turned away to the west, and made for Bridgwater. It was, in fact, a retreat, and that town was selected, either because in case of need it afforded an outlet to the sea, or because of a report that an army of club-men had been organised in that district, and awaited only the opportunity of joining him. He deviated to Wells, in order to seize a convoy of military stores which had arrived there for the use of the royal troops. In this he was successful. It may be supposed that his commissariat was at a terribly low ebb. The military chest was exhausted, and his army was forced to

⁽¹⁾ Wade says so, but Tillier in his examination (*Lansd. MSS.* 1,152) asserts that they left on the business of the insurrection.

⁽²⁾ *Lond. Gaz.*, June 25th to 29th.

live at free quarters, thereby not enhancing the popularity of the cause; whereas Feversham had been directed "to pay for everything of what kind soever that shall be taken up for the army, and particularly at Frome. His Majesty thought you would have done well to have hanged every person you found deserving it there, as he would have you do in other places, if you shall see cause."⁽¹⁾ Monmouth quartered in Bridgwater on Saturday, July 4th. The great army of club-men was found to consist of a handful of peasants under the command of a Quaker, with a white apron as an ensign.⁽²⁾

On Sunday, while he lay there vacillating as to his plans, intelligence was brought to him that the King's army, by a forced march, had entered Sedgemoor by way of Shepperton, and was actually encamped about three miles off. He, therefore, made preparations for removing. By a night march he hoped to outstrip the royal troops, cross the Avon at Keynsham, break down the bridge behind him, and so unite himself with his supporters in Shropshire and Cheshire.

Royal Army at
Sedgemoor.

An eye-witness brought Monmouth accurate information as to the positions occupied by the various corps of the army; and the possibility of surprising them in the night immediately occurred to him. At three in the afternoon he summoned a council of war. The feasibility was admitted, provided the camp was not entrenched. The friendly

A Night Sur-
prise.

⁽¹⁾ Sunderland's Letters.

⁽²⁾ *Axe Papers*, quoted in Roberts's *Hist.*, ii. 38.

spy undertook to obtain the information, and reported that it was not entrenched.

Sedgemoor.

The extensive tract of level peat-moor, containing 13,522 acres, called King's Sedgemoor, extends from below the town of Bridgwater in a south-easterly direction towards Somerton, with portions penetrating the hills in several directions. The river Parret runs north-west through the west side of the moor, which is about five miles broad. A range of lias hills, called the Polden Hills, bounds the moor on the north-eastern side.⁽¹⁾ When the rains were heavy, and the Parret and its tributary rose above the banks, the plain would be flooded. Some feeble attempts had been made at drainage, and the plain was intersected by many wide and deep trenches, which in that county are called rhines. Scattered about on the moor were a few villages. In about the centre was a hamlet called Chedzoy; farther removed to the south and beyond the moor was Weston Zoyland—commonly contracted into Weston. Feversham had established his head-quarters at this latter village, and five hundred of the cavalry lay there. The infantry were encamped in line on the moor at a place called Penzoy-pound, about half a mile in advance of the cavalry. In rear of the cavalry, the Wiltshire militia was quartered in two villages, Middlezoy and Othery, farther away from the moor and Bridgwater. The artillery was placed so as to command the road leading from Weston to Bridgwater. The King—an old cam-

⁽¹⁾ Roberts, ii. 54.

paigner—pronounced the position of the encampment to have been well selected and secure,⁽¹⁾ the infantry having in their rear the village with the cavalry, and their front protected by a broad and deep drain, called the Bussex rhine, which still partly exists, and which could only be passed by cavalry in one or two places.

It is difficult to estimate the exact number of Monmouth's forces on this last night of their being assembled. Wade says they never at any time amounted to 4,000 men. Allowing for the desertions at Frome, and for two troops sent to Minehead to bring up some field-pieces, 2,600 foot and 600 horse is a probable estimate of the rebel forces which marched out of Bridgwater.

Estimate of
Rebel Forces.

Of course there were exaggerated accounts; the Court party would naturally augment the number of the rebels, to exalt the prowess of the troops. Evelyn says the rebels "were reported to be above 8,000, and the King's but 2,700." The King's account gives "about 2,800 foot⁽²⁾ in six small battalions, and some 700 horse and dragoons. The first on the right was Dumbarton's, one company of which was grenadiers, commanded by Lt.-Col. Douglas. Next to these were two battalions of the 1st Guards, of six companies in each, besides one company of grenadiers; at the head of one was the

⁽¹⁾ The King's account of the battle is preserved in *Harl. MSS.*, No. 6,845.

⁽²⁾ This number is faultily transcribed in the *Hardwicke Papers* as 1,800, whereas it is 2,800 in the original. The error has been copied by Roberts and some other writers.

Duke of Grafton, and Major Eaton of the other. Next to them a battalion of the II. reg^t of Guards of six comp^s, and another of grenadiers, under Lt.-Col. Sackville. Then five comp^s of Trelawny's and one of grenadiers, commanded by Lt.-Col. (Charles) Churchill. On the left of all another small battalion, composed as the former, commanded by Col. Kirke.

“As for the horse, 150 commanded out of the three troops of guards, 60 grenadiers on horseback, commanded by Villiers; 7 troops of the King's reg^t of horse and 4 of dragoons; the horse commanded by Sir Francis Compton, and the dragoons by Ld. Cornbury, one troop of which was at Lamport, commanded by Capt. Coy, to secure that pass and to get intelligence in case the rebels should march westward. The train of artillery consisted of sixteen pieces, under the conduct of Mr. Sheeres.”

The numbers would really stand thus at the lowest computation:—

CAVALRY.		INFANTRY.	
Life Guards . . .	150	Dumbarton's . 5 comp ^s	500
Their Grenadiers . .	60	1st Batt. 1st Foot	
R. Horse-Guards, 7 troops	420	Guards . . 6 do.	600
Royal Dragoons, 3 do.	180	2nd Batt. 1st Foot	
	<hr/>	Guards . . 6 do.	600
	810	Coldstream Guards 6 do.	600
		Trelawny's . 5 do.	500
		Kirke's . . 5 do.	500
			<hr/>
			3,300

Total, exclusive of Officers and Artillerymen, 4,410.

This estimate is corroborated by the “Diary of an Officer of the Royal Horse Guards,” printed in

Kennett (*ed.* 1719), iii. 433, where it is stated, "The King's forces not exceeding 4,000." With such a force, aided by the militia, a competent General should have crushed the rebellion at once.

It appears that Feversham had received information of the rebel army having passed over the bridge and being drawn up in a meadow called the "Castle Field," close by the river, on the outside of Bridgwater. He felt assured that the Duke was about to retreat, but he judged it best not to disturb his men, but to keep them fresh for the anticipated pursuit on the morrow. The troops required rest after their march, and were not in a condition to pursue any advantage at present.⁽¹⁾ He therefore contented himself with sending Oglethorpe with a party of Life Guards to watch the roads leading north to Bristol, and posted a picquet of horse and dragoons on the moor in advance of the left flank of the camp on the Bridgwater side, to guard against any surprise. A guard of dragoons was also placed over the guns. Feversham was out till nearly one o'clock in the morning on the moor towards Chedzoy, expecting the return of Oglethorpe, and listening for the noise of the rebels' march—in case they did march—it being a very still night. He then repaired to his quarters at Weston, and retired to rest.

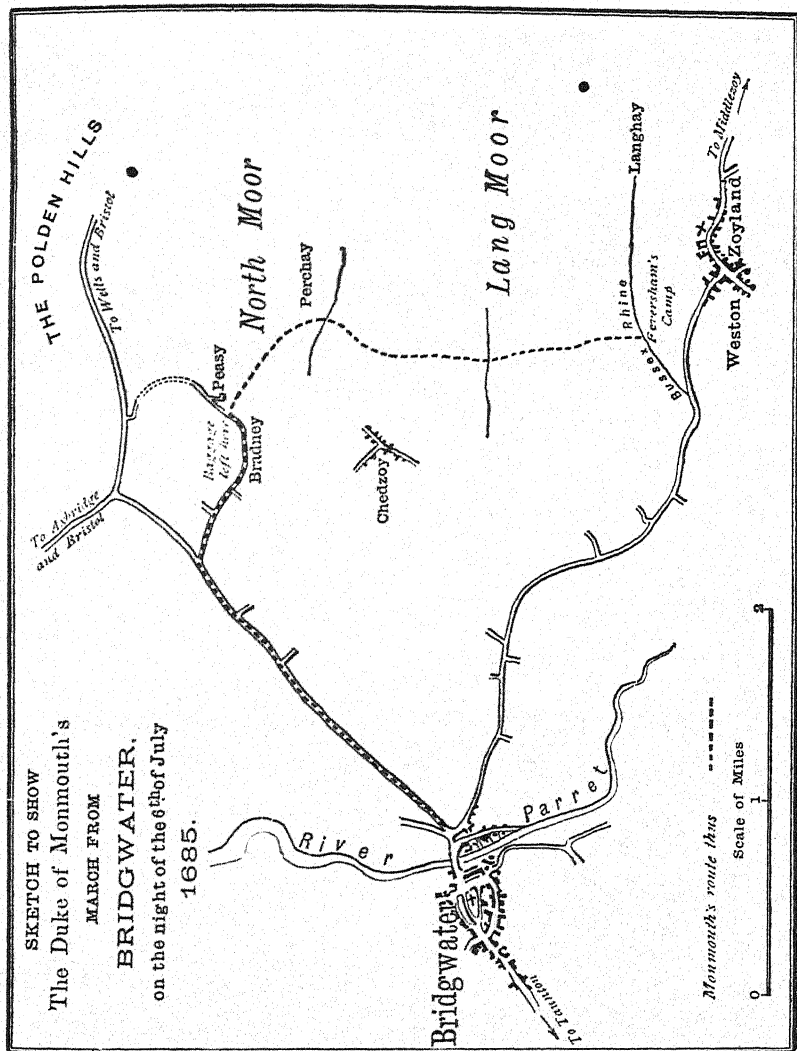
About eleven o'clock at night, Monmouth marched out at the head of his forces, with his

The Night
March.

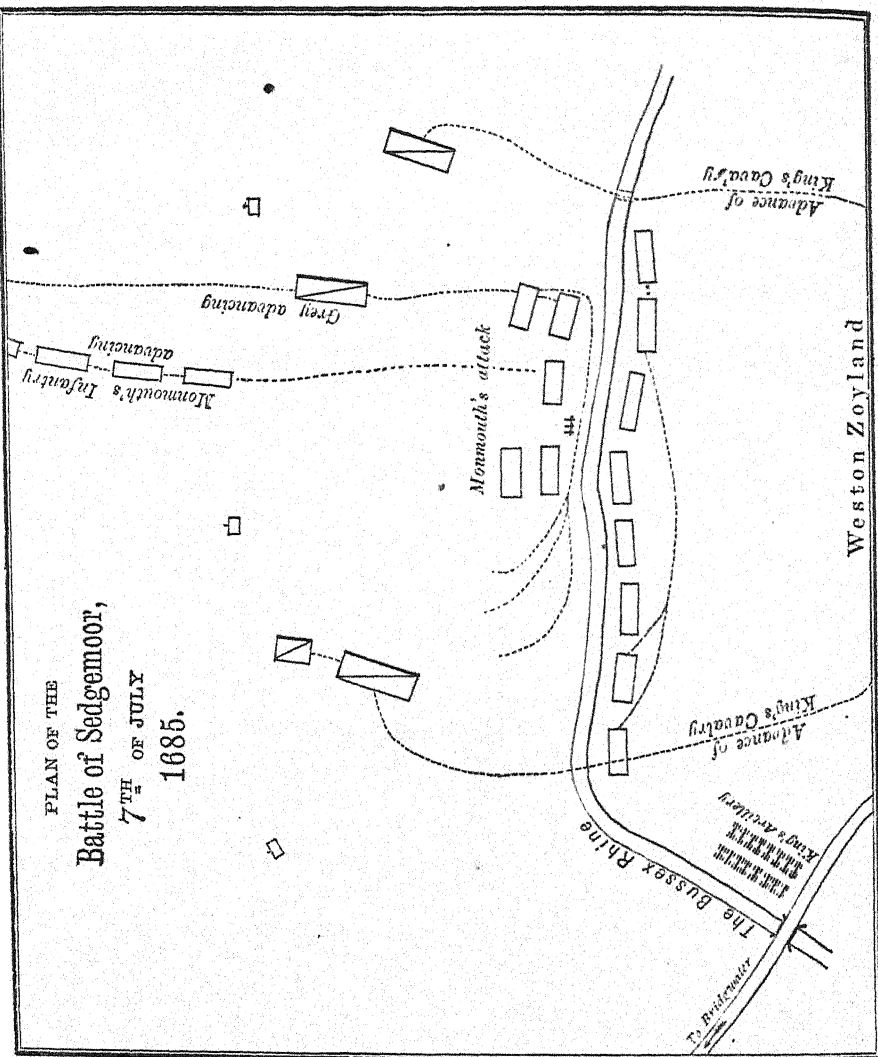
⁽¹⁾ The Diary of the Officer just alluded to, who was present in the action, states, "On Sunday night most of the Officers were drunk."

three or four guns, and all his baggage-wagons. He proceeded a very short way along the Bristol road, and then turned off to the moor, in order to make a *détour* to approach the camp. He thus escaped detection from Oglethorpe and his party. Silently the rebel army wound its way through narrow lanes: when it emerged on the moor, the Duke ordered the wagons to halt, and they were left there with a small guard. The circuit to reach the camp must have been at least six miles, and when Feversham was at Chedzoy (which Monmouth carefully avoided) he little thought how near the enemy was to him. By this route two great drains had to be crossed; the faithful guide led safely over the ford of the first, but he seems to have missed that of the second, and this caused some delay and confusion. He was a Chedzoy man, and must have known of the existence of a third—a greater one still—which protected the front of the camp. Whether he accompanied the army throughout is not stated, but it is next to impossible to suppose that he should not have mentioned it to the Duke. But Monmouth, it must be presumed, hoped to find the fording-places.

Matters seemed thus far favourable. The rebels had approached within a mile of the camp without being heard or seen. Monmouth halted for the horse to advance. Unfortunately for him, two of their best troops were away at the time, as before stated. The guns followed the horse, and the foot in column of five battalions, each having a company



PLAN OF THE
Battle of Sedgemoor,
7TH OF JULY
1685.



of at least one hundred scythe-men. The design was that Grey should lead the horse beyond the proper right of the line of the encampment, and so on to Weston and set fire to the village, thus causing confusion in the rear, and Monmouth was then to have attacked the front of the line with his foot. At this important moment, when Grey was advancing, the rebels were discovered by the advanced sentries of the Horse Guards, who immediately fired off their carbines and galloped in to their captain, Sir Francis Compton, who withdrew his party to the rear of the right flank of the infantry.

When Monmouth found that the camp was alarmed, he ordered Grey to advance quickly and attack the King's infantry in flank. Grey missed the fording-place on the right of the encampment, and led on in front of the line along the rhine, and thus came opposite to the Scots regiment, which, being composed of old campaigners, was already under arms. The King's account is, that when challenged by Douglas, the rebel troopers answered ALBEMARLE, and so were allowed to pass; when opposite the next battalion, 1st Guards, being again challenged, they answered "For the King!"—"What King?"—"Monmouth, and God with us," which was their word,⁽¹⁾ upon which they were fired upon by the two battalions of that regiment and by

Camp
alarmed.

(1) Pennant (*Hist. of London*) says that the word of the day was "Soho," taken from the Duke's house in Soho Square, but the King is most likely correct. The name of the unfortunate Duke is, or was, preserved in Monmouth Street.

the Coldstreams in succession, which frightened the untrained horses, and they made a rush to their rear. Oglethorpe and his party having approached close to Bridgwater, and ascertained that the enemy had disappeared, hastened back with the news, and arrived just after the fighting had commenced. Monmouth, hearing the firing in his front, hurried on his infantry, and consequently it came up in confusion. He attempted to form his line only at about eighty paces from the intersecting rhine, the match-lights of Dumbarton's, the only royal corps that had matchlocks, guiding him in the advance.⁽¹⁾ The Duke ordered his men not to fire until the whole had deployed into line, but one of the battalions disobeyed his orders, and then the firing became general. That is the King's account, but the Diary of the Officer R. H. G. states that "Monmouth kept his men in good order, as though he had been at the head of regular forces; had he suffered them, after the first empty discharge, to fall on with their other weapons, they would have knock'd their enemies on the head, or have push'd them into utmost confusion; being inexperienced they fired too high, and did very little execution." Monmouth believed that his line was opposite to the King's left, but it extended only from Dumbarton's to the three battalions of Guards. Feversham had now arrived on the field with the cavalry, and he ordered the horse and dragoons to cross the rhine on the right and left of the encampment, to

(1) King's Account.

protect the flanks, but not to charge, as he did not yet know what had become of the rebel horse. Monmouth brought up his guns, and they played with considerable effect on the Guards and Scotch regiment. Oglethorpe and his detachment made a dash at one of the enemy's battalions, but he was beaten back. Captain Sarsfield was knocked down with the butt-end of a musket, and left for dead on the field.⁽¹⁾ Day was now dawning, and Lord Churchill, perceiving that the enemy's right did not extend to the King's left wing, ordered Kirke's and Trelawny's battalions to move by the rear in support of the right. Feversham ordered the guns to be brought up from the Bridgwater road, and they did good service; but so incomplete were the ordnance arrangements of those days, that the Bishop of Winchester⁽²⁾ lent his coach-horses to help to drag the guns in position on the left flank, and a sergeant of Dumbarton's was employed in firing them.⁽³⁾

Monmouth's foot maintained its ground valiantly, and his two or three field-pieces were well plied

⁽¹⁾ Patrick Sarsfield became one of James's most valued Generals in the war with Ireland. He commanded James's cavalry at the Boyne. After the capitulation of Limerick, he entered the French service, fought at Steinkirk, and was mortally wounded at Landen, 1693. He was created Earl of Lucan by James after his leaving this kingdom.

⁽²⁾ Peter Mews, translated from the Bishopric of Bath and Wells in 1684. He had been an officer in the army, and had served in Holland and Scotland.

⁽³⁾ A warrant, dated 26th Feb., 1685-6, directs that Serjeant Weems, of the Royal Regiment of Foot, should be paid "Forty pounds for good service in the action of Sedgemoor, in firing the great guns against the rebels." (*War Office Records.*)

under the direction of a Dutch gunner. No attempt was made to cross the rhine. But ammunition began to fail, and Feversham, who was on the right of the line with the cavalry, perceiving that the rebel horse had vanished, and that the pikes were beginning to waver, ordered his infantry to pass over the rhine and to charge, and the rebels broke and fled before they came into collision. Thus ended the Battle of Sedgemoor, and with it the insurrection. The actual fighting lasted about one hour and a half. The horse, and dragoons, and grenadiers fell upon the fugitives, and the slaughter was great.⁽¹⁾ Twenty-two flags were captured. Captain Robert Hacket, of Dumbarton's, is said to have taken Monmouth's own standard, with the motto in gilt letters of "Fear none but God."

Sunderland had written to Feversham on July

(1) Reresby says, "The number of slain on the enemies' side was computed about 1,200; on our side near 300 killed and wounded. We took about 600 prisoners." The King does not mention the numbers, but the *Gazette* states "of His Majesty's forces, there were about 300 killed, and seven wounded."

In a work called "Chilton Priory," published at Bridgwater in 1839, an extract is given from an old book in the muniment chest of the Parish Church of Weston Zoyland:

"An Account of the fight that was in Langmore, 6th July, 1685, between the King's army and the Duke of Monmouth."

The writer of which states that there were 16 of the King's soldiers killed, five of whom were buried in the church, and the rest in the churchyard; 100 or more were wounded, many of whom died. Of the rebels there were killed about 300, of whom 22 were hanged, 4 of them in gemmaces (*i.e.* in chains), and about 500 prisoners were brought into the Church. It is not likely that this rustic scribe—possibly the Vicar—should be accurately informed, except in such matters as came under his own eye; the authentic list shows that 218 King's officers and men received compensation for wounds.

6th: "There will be three troops of Horse of my Lord Peterborough's (a regiment just raised, afterwards IIIrd Horse, now IInd D. G.), "at Amesbury with the Scotch regiments on Friday next; they say they are very good. The King has given a commission of Major-general to my Lord Churchill and another to Mackay, and of Brigadier to Sackville and Kirke in rank; and a blank commission of Colonel to you for Oglethorpe, if you think fit to give it to him."

Macaulay remarks that what seems extraordinary Troops v. Mob. is that the event should have been for a moment doubtful, and that five or six thousand colliers and ploughmen should contend for an hour with half that number of regular troops; but the wonder will be diminished when it is remembered that in the time of James II. the discipline of the regular army was extremely lax, and that on the other hand the peasantry were accustomed to serve in the militia. The difference, therefore, between a regiment of the foot guards and one of clowns just enrolled, though doubtless considerable, was by no means what it now is. Feversham's troops, when compared with the English ones of our time, might almost be called a mob (i. 608). Considering the rapidity with which regiments were then raised, and sent off at once on actual service, his remark is no doubt correct; but a glance at the drill-books of the period will show how complicated were the manual exercises and the battalion movements, so that it is questionable whether the soldier of the past had

not more to learn than his successor of the present. The great advantage over irregular troops was having cavalry with trained horses. No one knew better than Monmouth how unable his army was to cope with a disciplined force in the field. His hope—a forlorn one at best—was in the confusion created by a nocturnal surprise; and when he found that the royal troops were under arms ready to receive him, he gave up all for lost. It had been better for his reputation had he sought a soldier's death, instead of deserting the poor men whom he had induced to risk their lives in his cause. But while the battle was still raging, he retired to the rear of his army, and was unbuckling his armour in preparation for speedy flight, when he was joined by Grey. The imputation of cowardice with which the memory of this nobleman is charged may possibly be unfounded; at all events, he had neither left the field nor yielded himself a prisoner, but was at the side of his chief to the last. The failure of his cavalry might have been no fault of his. It had been embodied for not more than three weeks—some of its members perhaps only for as many days—a space of time utterly inadequate to create steadiness. His failure, therefore, was perhaps inevitable; and a night-battle, with the flashes and noises of musketry, was too great a trial for untrained horses. It does not, however, appear that he counselled his leader to return to his men; flight was decided upon, and they, joined by Buysse, rode some twenty miles

beyond Polden Hill. Had they made for the coast, escape was possible; as it was, Monmouth resolved to flee in the direction of the New Forest, probably in expectation of reaching Lymington, where the Mayor (Dore), who was a warm partisan, and who was excepted from the general pardon, would provide a vessel and be a partner in his flight.⁽¹⁾

The result of the action was quickly spread Capture. abroad. At Ringwood Lord Lumley was posted with three troops of Colonel Stapley's regiment of Sussex horse-militia, with Major Bridger and Captains Monk and Peckham, and four companies of Colonel Alford's regiment of the Sussex infantry, commanded by Lt.-Colonel Cooper, and Captains Dickeley, Best, and Carre. Strict orders were given to arrest suspected persons. Sir William Portman, with his militia, was watching the Dorsetshire roads leading to the coast. Early in the morning of the 7th of July, Grey and his guide were discovered and captured, four miles from Ringwood; on the next morning Buysse was made a prisoner; and shortly afterwards Monmouth was found lying in a ditch, under an ash-tree, covered with fern and brambles.⁽²⁾ He was in the disguise of a shepherd, in wretched plight and half-starved. By an official letter, it would appear that his apprehension was effected by a party of the Dorset militia.⁽³⁾

⁽¹⁾ Echard.

⁽²⁾ In the parish of Woodlands, now the property of the Earl of Shaftesbury.—See "An account of the manner of taking the late Duke of Monmouth, &c. By his Majesty's Command." Reprinted in *Harl. Misc.*, ix. 123.

⁽³⁾ Mackinnon, ii., *Appen.* 103.

The prisoners were sent under an escort to the Tower. At Vauxhall they were received by the Earl of Dartmouth's newly-raised regiment of Fusiliers, and lodged in the Tower on the 13th of July. Grey and Buysse were pardoned;⁽¹⁾ the last appalling tragedy in which Monmouth played a part is well known.

After the victory at Sedgemoor, Feversham marched into Bridgwater. He ordered the execution of many of the prisoners on the spot. By letters dated 9th of July, he was directed to return to London with the Horse and Foot Guards, and to leave such force as he deemed necessary with Colonel Kirke, who was appointed to command at Bridgwater and Taunton.

Towards the end of August, Jeffreys (who three months before had been raised to the Peerage) and four other Judges, arrived to open a special commission for the trial of the rebel prisoners; an Assize, "the memory of which," says Macaulay, "will last as long as our race and language." Either for security or dignity, he was commissioned as a General for the occasion; and this singular union of the two functions was jocularly called "Jeffreys's campaign" by the King himself, in two letters which he wrote to the Prince of Orange.⁽²⁾

The following allowances were granted to the officers and men wounded at Sedgemoor, by a

(1) *State Trials*.—Grey bought his pardon by bribes to Lord Rochester and others, and by becoming a witness against his companions. King William created him Earl of Tankerville in 1695.

(2) Dalrymple, ii, *App.*, Pt. i., B. ii., p. 53.

Warrant issued for the occasion ;⁽¹⁾ by which it is shown that the battalion on the right suffered the most ; the Royal Regiment (Dumbarton's) having 70 officers and men wounded, out of 6 companies ; and the 1st Guards, 60 out of 13 companies. Those only who were seriously wounded received compensation.

To 36 gentlemen of the troops of Horse and Grenadier	£	s.	d.
Guards	417	10	0
One admitted into Chelsea Hospital	16	0	0
The Royal Reg ^t of Horse, 1 Trumpeter and 14 Privates	220	5	0
Two Battals of the 1st Foot Guards, 1 Capt. and Lieut.-Colonel	100	0	0
2 Lieut ^s and Captains, £30 each	60	0	0
One Lieut., £40 ; 1 ditto, £80 ; 1 Ensign, £50 ; 1 ditto, £30 ; one volunteer, £30	230	0	0
1 Sergeant, 3 Corporals, 2 Drummers, and 46 Privates	208	5	0
Coldstream Guards, 7 Comp ^s , 2 Serj ^{ts} , 3 Privates	27	0	0
12 men admitted to Chelsea Hospital, £16 each	192	0	0
3 men to Chelsea Hospital, £6 13s. 4d. each	20	0	0
The Royal Reg ^t of Foot, 5 Comp ^s , 1 Capt., £40 ; 3 Lieut ^s , £20 each ; 1 Lieut., £35 ; 1 ditto, £25 ; 1 ditto, £15	175	0	0
3 Serj ^{ts} , 2 Corp ^{ls} , 1 Drummer, and 57 Privates	222	0	0
12 men to Chelsea Hospital, £6 13s. 4d. each	80	0	0
The Queen Dowager's Reg ^t of Foot, 5 Comp ^s 4 men to Chelsea Hospital, at £6 13s. 4d. each	26	13	4
	<u>£1,994</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>4</u>

Feversham was made a K.G. Colonel Theophilus Oglethorpe, who brought the news of the

(1) "JAMES R.—

"Whereas by the establishment of our forces, We have been graciously pleased to direct that an allowance be made to such officers and soldiers as should be wounded or hurt in our service ; Our Will and Pleasure is, that out of such monies as are or shall come to your hands for the contingent uses of our guards, &c., you cause the summes following to be paid to the officers, non-commission officers, and soldiers of our ——— regiment hereunder mentioned.

"Which summes are to be paid to the said persons in satisfaction for their wounds received in Our service during the late rebellion. And

victory to the King, was knighted, and shortly after (October 25) was appointed to the colonelcy of the Holland Regiment. Henry Sheers was knighted July 20th, for his services as Controller-general and Commander-in-chief of the Artillery.⁽¹⁾

The English and Scotch regiments in the service of the United Provinces, which had been placed on the British establishment from the date of their landing in England, were re-embarked for Holland. The three English regiments were on British pay from the 5th of June to the 5th of August, 1685, and the Scotch regiments a short while longer, they having arrived first and left last; and they appear on the list of troops present at the review on Hounslow Heath in the beginning of August. Millan says that these Anglo-Dutch regiments refused to come over from Holland in 1685, "for which the King broke them."⁽²⁾ This is manifestly incorrect. Evelyn went to see their muster on the 18th of July, as they "were now returning, there having been no occasion for their use. They were all excellently clad and well disciplined, and were encamped on Blackheath with their tents; the King and Queen came to see them exercise, and the manner of their encamp-

for so doing, this, together with the acquittances of the said persons or their assigns, shall be your discharge. Given at Our Court the 26th day of March, 1686.

"To Charles Fox, Esq."

"By his Mat's command,

"WILLM BLATHWAYT.

(Succeeded his Father as Paym.-Gen. for 3 years.)

⁽¹⁾ *Lond. Gaz.*, No. 2,053. He was afterwards appointed Lieut.-General of the Ordnance.

⁽²⁾ *Succession of Colonels*; pub. 1742. In Lib. R. U. S. Inst.

ment, which was very neat and magnificent." They were commanded by—

Colonels :

3 English Regs.	{	Thomas Monk . . .	now 5th Fusiliers.
		Sir Henry Bellasis . .	now 6th Foot.
		Alexander Cannon . .	Disbanded.
3 Scotch Regs.	{	M.-General Kirkpatrick	continued
		Sir Alexander Colyear	in
		M.-General Hugh Mackay	Dutch Service.

Still there might have been some grounds for Millan's note, for, notwithstanding the admirable conduct under arms of these Brigades, it appears, during their residence in Holland, they had become strongly impregnated with the political feelings of the Dutch; and King James afterwards expressed the opinion that it was very lucky there had been no occasion for trying their fidelity.⁽¹⁾ Although the correspondence between the King and the Prince of Orange was couched in affectionate terms, as became their near relationship, yet there lacked sincerity of expression, and a mistrust and suspicion evidently existed between them. Barillon reported to his sovereign that the King of England had mentioned to him his dissatisfaction at the Prince's conduct, and that he felt persuaded that, had his nephew been as zealous in his cause as he was in words, he might have prevented the sailing of the insurrectionary expeditions.⁽²⁾

(1) Dalrymple, ii., *App.*, Pt. i., B. ii., p. 27.—Two soldiers were hanged, at the camp of the three Scotch (Dutch) regiments, by sentence of Court-martial, on the 20th of July, 1685, for using traitorous words against the King, and another received thirty-nine stripes on the bare back and was cashiered. (Quoted in Clode, i. 477.)

(2) Barillon to Louis XIV., 21st of May, 1685; printed in *App.*, p. lxxviii. to Fox's *James II.*

After the defection of Argyle, James had decided on recalling Colonel Henry Sidney,⁽¹⁾ a great favourite of the Prince, from his command of the six regiments of British subjects in the service of the United Provinces, and to replace him by Lord Pembroke, who was also to have the regiment of Colonel Cannon, as the King retained him in his service at home. James admitted that Pembroke had seen no military service, but he had served him well as Lord-Lieutenant of Wiltshire in the late rebellion, and was thoroughly loyal and to be depended upon, which was more than could be said "for some of the officers and many soldiers, who were better out than in those regiments."⁽²⁾ This appointment, however, for some reason, did not take place; and the King then recommended Lord Carlingford, a Roman Catholic. But the Prince positively refused his consent, as he had previously done in the late reign in the case of the Earl of Dumbarton; a correspondence ensued, the King had to yield, and Major-General Hugh Mackay was appointed.

To complete the history of these Brigades. In 1687, James, in pursuance of his design to subvert the established religion and laws of this country, felt an aversion to the employment of this efficient

(1) Younger son of Robert, Earl of Leicester; "Le bean Sydney," of Grammont's *Mems.* Considered to have been a lover of Anne Hyde, Duchess of York. Created by William III., in 1689, Viscount Sidney, and in 1694 Earl of Romney. He was Master-general of the Ordnance, and Colonel of the 1st Guards.

(2) Dalrymple, ii., *App.*, Pt. i., p. 28.

body of British troops in the service of a Protestant Republic. He therefore proposed to recall them to their native allegiance, and to transfer so many of them as would retire from the Dutch service—especially the Roman Catholic officers and men—to that of France, he having already increased his own army as much as his revenues would admit. Louis, however, having experienced the inconvenience of entertaining regiments in his service liable to be suddenly recalled, declined the offer; but as the re-uniting of England to the communion of the Church of Rome would further his projects of self-aggrandisement, he consented to maintain at his own cost a body of two thousand men in England, to consist chiefly of members of that religion. James gratefully accepted the offer. He therefore wrote to the Prince (January 17th, 1688), “I think it for my service to call home the six regiments of my subjects, which are under your command in the States’ service; and have written to the States to the same purpose, and hope you will do your part to further their being embarked as soon as may be.”

The States, however, declined to comply with the King’s demand, alleging they were not bound to send the regiments to England, unless the King were engaged in a foreign war or an insurrection at home. But as some of the officers were Roman Catholics, they gave permission for as many of them as chose to return to England. James was displeased at the answer, and wrote that the

Holland refuses.

common soldiers were as much his subjects as the officers, and that this was the first instance that subjects were refused liberty, when demanded, to serve their own sovereign. After some further correspondence, a proclamation appeared in the *London Gazette* (2nd of March, No. 2,326), requiring all natural-born subjects in the pay or service of the States-General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, upon their known and bounden duty and allegiance, to quit the said service within a time specified.

But the Republic continued steadfast in its determination. About 40 (or according to another account, 60) ⁽¹⁾ officers out of 240 accepted the permission to quit the Dutch service. A portion of the soldiers also withdrew; and three regiments were formed and taken into the pay of France, but stationed in England. The first was an English regiment, commanded by Colonel John Hales, and consisted of 10 officers and 200 men, all Roman Catholics; the second by Colonel Wachop, with 12 Roman Catholic officers and 300 men, principally Scotch; and the third by Colonel Roger MacElligot, the officers and men of which were nearly all Irish Roman Catholics.

“An English reader,” says Dalrymple, “may

(1) Rapin, ii. 762.—Among the officers who accepted their demission was Major John Bernardi, of Monk's reg^t. He had obtained a commission at its formation in 1674, and had served with distinction. He adhered to the cause of Jas. II. He subsequently resided in London, and was imprisoned for thirty years, but never brought to trial. He published his *Life* in 1729, which contains many interesting particulars of the services of the Brigade.

not be surprised to hear that King James had resolved to make void the Act of Settlement in Ireland, in order to make use of Irish Catholics for the establishment of his authority in England. But he will be astonished to learn that, towards the end of his reign, there were in England three Popish regiments, regularly paid by France.”⁽¹⁾

The six regiments came over with the Prince of Orange, under the command of Mackay, and did good service at the Revolution. Colonel Monk died in that year, and the command of his regiment was conferred by the Prince on Lieutenant-Colonel Talmash,⁽²⁾ late of the Coldstream Guards, who had commanded the little battalion of his regiment at Tangiers, and in 1685 was appointed by James II. to the lieutenant-colonelcy of his newly-raised regiment of Fusiliers. Monk's regiment landed with the Prince at Brixham Bay, and was placed permanently on the English establishment, taking precedence from the 5th of June, 1685, the day on which it first received pay from the British Crown. It ultimately obtained rank as the Vth of the Line, and the records of the regiment attest its diversified and meritorious service.

On the 1st of May, 1689, Talmash was appointed Colonel of the Coldstream Guards. In 1690 the Fifth (then Lloyd's) proceeded to Ireland, and remained there till the termination of the war. It

(1) Dalrymple, ii., *App.*, Pt. i., p. 134.

(2) Fenwick (afterwards Sir George, Bart.) was a Colonel of the regiment in 1675. He resigned on some disagreement with the Prince of Orange, which was never forgotten by either.

embarked for foreign service in 1692, and fought in the French War till the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. In 1707 it was engaged in the War of the Succession till the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. It then went into garrison at Gibraltar, and remained there fifteen years, taking part in the memorable defence of that fortress in 1727.⁽¹⁾ On active service again in 1758, it formed part of an expedition consisting of 16 battalions of infantry and 9 troops of light horse, under the command of the Duke of Marlborough. The troops were landed at St. Malo, but the place being found too strongly fortified, they were re-embarked and proceeded to Cherbourg, which was captured; the forts were destroyed, and a large amount of ordnance was brought away, and lodged with great parade in the Tower.⁽²⁾ Another descent was made on the coast of Brittany in September, under Lieutenant-General Bligh. The troops were marched some miles into the interior, and, being purposely misled by their guide,⁽³⁾ they had to be countermarched and hastily re-embarked in the Bay of St. Cast (between St. Malo and St. Brioux), as the General received information that the Duke d'Aguillon, with a force far outnumbering his own, intended to attack him on the next day. During the embarkation the enemy opened fire from

(1) About this time Phebe Hessel, once a well-known character at Brighton, enlisted in the 7th when about fifteen years of age, in the hope of meeting with her lover, who was a private in the 11th Queen's. She died in 1821, aged 107. A tombstone in Brighton Churchyard records her services.

(2) *An. Reg.*, i. 110.

(3) See the account in Mackinnon, i. 401.

guns and mortars, and upwards of a thousand of the British were killed or taken prisoners.⁽¹⁾ The loss of the Vth in these disastrous and ill-planned expeditions was ninety-five men.

The regiment was actively engaged in 1760 and the succeeding years in the operations of the allied army under the Duke of Brunswick, in Hanover and the neighbouring states, and formed part of the corps commanded by the Marquess of Granby. It especially distinguished itself in the woods of Wilhelmsthal, at the battle of Groebenstein, on the 24th of June, 1762, when the French camp was surprised, and the Vth forced the whole regiment d'Aquitaine and five regiments of Grenadiers—viz., Grenadiers de France, de Rochelambert, de l'Epinasse, de la Camus, and de Narbonne—to lay down their arms and surrender their colours.⁽²⁾ A treaty of peace enabled the Vth to return to England in February, 1763, and shortly after it embarked for Ireland, where it remained ten years; and during that period, so remarkable was the regiment for cleanliness and attention to appearance that the men obtained the *sobriquet* of "THE SHINERS."⁽³⁾

(1) On the 21st of April, 1858, the Emperor Napoleon III. gave effect to the wishes of the neighbourhood by the following decree:—

"Les habitans du Département des Côtes du Nord sont autorisés à eriger à St. Cast un Monument commémoratif de la bataille gagnée sur les Anglais le 11 Septembre, 1758."

(2) An interesting relic is preserved in the 1st Batt., Vth Fus.—the identical snuff-box presented by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick to Colonel Marlow, on the field of battle of Wilhelmsthal, in admiration of the gallantry of his regiment on that occasion.

(3) *Digest of Services*, p. 27; *penes* Vth Fusiliers.

of Conduct
als.

A speciality of this regiment was its system of honorary distinctions for good conduct, introduced in 1767,⁽¹⁾ with most beneficial results. It consisted of three classes of medals, for non-commissioned officers and men, to be worn suspended by a green ribbon on the left breast, having on one side the badge of the regiment, St. George and the Dragon, with the motto, "*Quo fata vocant*," and on the reverse "*Vth FOOT, MERIT.*"⁽²⁾ In consequence of the establishment of "Good Conduct Medals" throughout the Army, it was directed that the "Order of Merit" should be suffered to expire. (18th of April, 1855.)

In 1768 the coloneley of the regiment was conferred on Hugh, Earl Percy, afterwards Duke of Northumberland. On the breaking-out of the American War this regiment was one selected to proceed to that country. At the Battle of Bunker's Hill, June 16, 1775, one of its captains—George, afterwards Lord Harris, the conqueror of the Mysore—while leading on the Grenadier company, was severely wounded; but he had in Lieutenant Lord Rawdon⁽³⁾ (afterwards Earl of Moira and Marquess of Hastings, Governor-General of India), a successor

(1) Confirmed and sanctioned by Royal Authority in 1832. (See Adj't-Gen'l's letter in *Records*, p. 96.) Somewhat similar means of rewarding long service and good conduct existed in other corps, notably in the 2nd, 7th, 13th, 22nd, 26th, and 79th regiments of Foot.

(2) Specimens of these decorations are preserved in the Museum of the R. U. S. Inst.

(3) Lord Rawdon was selected by the Duke of York to be his second in his duel with Colonel Lennox. The Earl of Winchilsea acted as second to Colonel Lennox.

in command who equalled the intrepidity of his captain.

In 1778 the regiment embarked at Sandy Hook for service in the West Indies. The reserve of the army, consisting of the Vth, with the grenadiers and light infantry of the whole, under the command of Brigadier-General Medows, were landed at Grand cul-de-sac, in the Island of St. Lucia, on the 13th of December. The reduction of the island was the result, effected under very great difficulties. The French troops fought with the gallantry and impetuosity characteristic of their nation; but the British received them with immovable steadiness, and the enemy sustained a loss in killed and wounded greater than the numbers of the whole force opposed to him. General Grant, in his despatches, highly praised the conduct of the Vth. Harris, now a Major, commanded the Grenadiers. The Brigadier-General (afterwards General Sir William Medows, K.C.B.) was severely wounded, but refused to quit the field.⁽¹⁾ It was on this occasion that the regiment obtained the privilege of wearing a white plume instead of the red and white tufts worn by other regiments of the line. It is stated that the white feathers were plucked from the caps of the French Grenadiers. The regiment returned home in 1781, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel George Harris.

In 1784 Earl Percy was promoted to the Coloneley of the 2nd troop of Horse Grenadier

⁽¹⁾ *An. Reg.*, xxii. 44.

Guards. In compliment to him, the Vth received the designation of the NORTHUMBERLAND REGIMENT, which it retains.

After taking part in the inglorious expedition to the Helder, under the Duke of York, in 1799, when this regiment had two battalions, it was sent to Gibraltar, whence it returned after the Peace of Amiens, and the 2nd Battalion was disbanded, but raised again at Horsham in 1804 on the resumption of war with France. In November, 1805, the first battalion embarked with the forces under Lord Cathcart. The transport with the left wing was wrecked off the Helder, and the soldiers were made prisoners by the Dutch, for England was then at war with the Batavian Republic, on account of its alliance with France. The troops were subsequently liberated by an exchange of prisoners.

In the next year the battalion sailed in the expedition to Buenos Ayres, under Lieut.-General Whitelocke, where hard fighting with large losses and no glory were the result, and the Lieut.-General was arraigned before a Court-martial and cashiered.

The distinctions borne on the colours of the regiment commemorate its services in the Peninsula until the Peace in 1814. War was, however, continued in North America, and the Vth embarked at Bordeaux for Montreal. It remained in Canada until the Peace, concluded in 1815, enabled it to return to Europe; too late, however, to take part in the crowning victory of Waterloo, though it landed

in France in July, and continued with the Army of Occupation until October, 1818.

The distinction of wearing a white or grenadier feather, which the regiment had won for itself, having become extinct by the Regulations of the 10th of February, 1829, which directed a white feather to be worn by the whole of the infantry, rifle regiments and light infantry excepted, His Majesty, George IV., was pleased to command "that the Vth Reg^t shall in future wear a feather half red and half white, the red uppermost, instead of the plain white feather worn by the rest of the army, as a peculiar mark of honour, whereby its former services will still be commemorated." White Plume.

On the night of the 24th of April, 1833, while the regiment was in garrison at Gibraltar, a fire burst out in the Line Wall House, in which were the mess-room and the quarters of Lieut.-Colonel Sutherland. The flames spread so rapidly that it was found impossible to save the colours, notwithstanding the most strenuous exertions. When new colours were sent out, and about to be presented by Lieut.-General Sir Frederick Ponsonby, a question arose as to an additional colour. It appeared that the Vth had carried a small green silk flag at the head of the regiment since 1672. It is very remarkable that this infraction of regulations should have remained to so late a period. The official correspondence has been noticed in the history of the IIND QUEEN'S. In reply to the Lieut.-Colonel's application, the Adjutant-General wrote on the 31st of

July, 1835: "His Majesty feels that he cannot comply with the request made on this occasion, by authorising the additional flag or banner being retained by the Corps, which, it must be stated, has never been sanctioned either by the Royal Warrant of the 19thth December, 1768, or by any subsequent grant, yet H. M. is desirous of conferring a mark of distinction on the regiment, which will tend to perpetuate the record of its services at Wilhelmsthal, in June, 1762; and with this view H. M. has commanded that the regiment shall be distinguished by wearing grenadier caps, with the King's cipher, W. R., iv., in the front, and the ancient badge of the regiment, viz., St. George killing the Dragon, on the back part." (The grenadier company, by the Warrant of 1st of July, 1751, wore on the caps St. George killing the Dragon; the White Horse, and motto "*Nec aspera terrent*," over it on the flap.)

On the 4th of May of the next year, the regiment was officially informed that it was in future to be equipped as Fusiliers, and to be styled the Vth REG^t OF FOOT, OR NORTHUMBERLAND FUSILIERS; its ensigns were commissioned as lieutenants, and it was further authorised "to bear on its colours and appointments, in addition to any other badges or devices which may have heretofore been authorised, the word 'Wilhelmstahl' in commemoration of the gallantry displayed by the regiment while serving with the allied army, under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, at the Battle of Groebenstein on the

24th of June, 1762; particularly in the capture of a great number of prisoners belonging to the Grenadiers of France, and the regiment d'Aquitaine, in the woods of Wilhelmstahl."

The facings of the Vth, originally yellow, and green since 1742, are unique in the army; for although described in the Army List as "bright green," in the old warrants they are described as "gosling green." In the Peninsula the regiment was known as "The Old and Bold" and "The Fighting Fifth."

The second Anglo-Dutch regiment was raised VIth Regt. at the same time, and upon the same conditions, as the first, and in conjunction with the other regiments of the Brigade took its share in all the hard fighting of the period, when the Republic was struggling for its independence. The high state of efficiency of these corps under the watchful eye of the great soldier, the Prince Stadtholder, has already been noticed. This regiment took rank next to its sister corps, and was subsequently numbered as the VIth of the line. The six regiments formed as fine a body of troops as any in Europe, nothing deteriorated from their valiant predecessors who had fought under Gustavus Adolphus. It has been mentioned how bravely the brigade fought at St. Denis, under the gallant Ossory. The three English regiments were commanded by Brigadier-General John Fenwick. Sir Henry Bellasis was Colonel of the battalion now under notice. He accompanied his

regiment to England, when sent for by James II., but in the year 1687 "circumstances occurred, which occasioned him to withdraw from the Dutch service."⁽¹⁾ No explanation is given as to these "circumstances." He wrote to the Prince, assuring him of his devotion to his service, but what called forth these expressions does not appear.⁽²⁾ Uncertainty also attends his former history, whose son he was, or why he was knighted. Cannon gives this account of him:—"Soon after the Restoration he was appointed Captain of an independent company of one hundred men, in garrison at Hull, of which fortress the Lord Bellasis (or Belasyse) was appointed governor,⁽³⁾ who resigned in 1673, he being a Roman Catholic. In the summer of 1674, Sir Henry Bellasis raised a company for the service of the United Provinces, and was engaged at the siege of Grave in the autumn of that year." He distinguished himself in several severe actions, and thus fought his way to the command of the regiment,

(1) Cannon, VIth Regt, p. 104.

(2) "I have presumed by this worthy bearer, to give your Highness the assurance of my devotion to your service in particular; the testimony I have given to the world of my loyalty and sufferings for the crown, obliges me in duty to pay the same to those who are so nearly related to it as the Princess Royal and your Highness," &c.

"May 27, 1687, Old Stile.

"Colonel Bellasys to the Prince of Orange." (Dalrymple, ii., *App.*, p. 63.)

(3) Afterwards Governor of Tangier, as before mentioned. The Colonel was probably a relative of his. Lord Belasyse, although three times married, had only one son, Sir Henry, made a K.B. at Charles II.'s coronation; mentioned in *Pepys's Diary*, iii. 215, as being killed in a duel in 1667. See also Collins's *Peerage*, under Fauconberg, vi. 32.

which he resigned in 1687. In 1689 he succeeded the Duke of Norfolk in the colonelcy of a newly-raised regiment (now XXIInd). He served as Brigadier-General in Ireland, and abroad as Lieut.-General, until the Peace of Ryswick. In 1701 he obtained the colonelcy of the Queen Dowager's regiment (IInd Queen's) by exchange. In 1702 he was second in command of the British troops in the expedition to Cadiz; and having been charged with participating in the plunder of Port St. Mary, he was tried by a Court-martial and dismissed the service.

To return to the regiment: the Lieut.-Colonel, Babington, was promoted to the command on Bellasis retiring. Colonels of regiments in those days were not merely honorary distinctions, but were in actual command. Regiments had only one Major, the duties now devolving on the senior Major being then discharged by the Lt.-Colonel. In 1688, when the Dutch fleet with the Prince of Orange was coming over to England, a storm scattered it, and obliged it to return; one transport with four companies of this regiment, under Major Ventriss Columbine, was driven on the English coast, where it was captured by Captain Aylmer in H.M.S. *Swallow*.⁽¹⁾ The other eight companies were landed with the rest of the Prince's army, on the Devonshire coast, on the 5th of November, 1688. Upon the

(1) "The four companies of Foot were imprisoned first at Dover, and then brought up to London; the officers were sent to the Gate House, and the men drafted into his Majesty's regiments." (*Add. MSS.*, 3,929. L. 50.)

secession of King James, Columbine and his four companies were set free and restored to their regiment with much rejoicing. The Major was shortly afterwards promoted to the Lt.-colonelcy. In 1690 the regiment proceeded to Ireland, and served in the brigade commanded by its former Colonel, Bellasis. On the retirement of Babington in 1691, the regiment was bestowed upon the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, brother of the reigning Landgrave, who attending William III., was wounded, on the evening preceding the Battle of the Boyne, by the cannon-ball which grazed the King's shoulder. He served on the staff in Ireland as a Brigadier-General, but being a Roman Catholic he was not eligible for further promotion, and at the termination of the Irish war the King procured him an appointment in the Spanish service.

William's Review.

When active hostilities had ceased in Ireland, the regiment embarked for the Netherlands, and served in the campaign of 1692, with the army commanded by William III. in person. An interesting circumstance is, that the King reviewed, on the 29th of June (O.S.), fifteen English battalions of his army (of which the VIth was one), from the camp of Genappe, and a few days afterwards thirteen battalions of his Scotch infantry, on part of the ground afterwards made so memorable by the Battle of Waterloo, in which many of the regiments took part which were inspected on that day; and if the "dry bones" that were scattered

far and wide could have been collected in those plains at

“The Spectre-Drummers’ summons, parading round and round,
With their fleshless hands fast rolling, rolling in wonted play;”⁽¹⁾

“and the breath had come into them, and they lived, and stood up upon their feet, an exceeding great army,”⁽²⁾ they would have regarded with pride their successors that fought in that immortal conflict.

In 1695, Ventris Columbine, who had exchanged into the 2nd Battalion 1st Guards, as Captain and Lieutenant-Colonel, was appointed to the colonelcy of his old regiment on the decease of the Marquis de Prada. The VIth was kept on active service till the Peace of Ryswick, 1697. In 1702 it formed part of the expeditionary force to Vigo Bay,⁽³⁾ and participated in the plunder of Port St. Mary. The regiment also took part in what is known as the “War of the Succession,” the object of which was to place the Archduke Charles of Austria on the throne of Spain. The Earl of Peterborough commanded the British, and proved himself a consummate general. The VIth gained renown under its intrepid Lieutenant-Colonel, William Southwell, at the storming of the castle of Montjuich at Barcelona, where a former colonel of the regiment, the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, fell mortally wounded. On the

⁽¹⁾ Napoleon’s *Midnight Review*, by Baron Zedlitz; translated by W. Ball.

⁽²⁾ Ezekiel xxxvii. 10.

⁽³⁾ The official documents relating to this expedition are preserved in *Harl. MSS.*, 7,025.

capture of the fortress, Southwell was appointed Governor, and subsequently, on a death vacancy, Colonel of his regiment.⁽¹⁾ When Peterborough retired, fortune deserted the Allies. The Archduke was defeated in the plains of Almanza by the French and Spanish forces, commanded by the Duke of Berwick, April 25th, 1707. The British suffered severely, and the main body was surrounded and forced to surrender. The casualties in the VIth were very heavy. Again, on the 6th of December, 1710, the regiment was one of a corps of 2,000 men, under Lieut.-General Stanhope, which was surrounded by the French and Spanish forces under the Duke of Vendôme, in the small town of Brihuega, in the mountains of Castile. After a desperate defence, during which their ammunition was expended, they were reduced to surrender themselves prisoners of war, and they were detained until an exchange was effected. The Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, put an end to hostilities.

The regiment (then Lt.-Genl. Sir John Guise's) was stationed in Scotland during the eventful "'45."⁽²⁾ Its head-quarters were at Aberdeen, two companies at Inverness, three at Fort Augustus, one at Fort William, and another at Ruthven Redoubt. Sir John Cope, who commanded the forces in Scot-

(1) He retired in 1708, and was afterwards Commander of the Battle-axe Guards of Dublin, and M.P. for Baltimore. His portrait was exhibited at the Dublin Exhibition in 1870.

(2) A young woman, Hannah Snell, enlisted in this regiment in 1743, showing that as yet there was no surgical examination of recruits. Her story is told in Clayton's *Female Warriors*, ii. 16. There is a portrait and biography of her in *Gent.'s Mag.*, xx. 291.

land, withdrew this latter company, leaving only a sergeant and twelve men, and some invalids there. The Redoubt was gallantly defended by Serjeant Molloy against three or four hundred rebels, and Cope recommended him for a commission in consequence. ⁽¹⁾ Two companies of the regiment were in the centre of the line of battle at Preston Pans, when a panic seized the English dragoons, and the example of their disgraceful flight was followed by the infantry.

In the early part of the next year, after the Duke of Cumberland had forced the young Prince Charles Edward to retreat to the Highlands, three companies of Guise's, stationed in Fort Augustus, were besieged by the rebels, and made prisoners. The fort being reduced by a train of artillery, Fort William was afterwards attacked, but the enemy was obliged to raise the siege and retire, and the victory of Culloden, following soon after, extinguished the rebellion.

In the Royal Warrant of July 1st, 1751, it was directed that the facings of the VIth should be of deep yellow. The first colour was to be the great union, and the second of deep yellow, in the centre an ANTELOPE; being the ancient badge of the regiment. On the little flap of the grenadier caps a white horse, and motto "*Nec aspera terrent.*"

There is no record as to why or when this badge of the Antelope was assumed. It was probably a distinction selected for no more reason than the

(1) Cope's *Trial*, p. 153.

Paschal Lamb of the Queen's, or the Dragon of the Buffs, the Lion of England of the IVth, or the St. George and Dragon of the Vth. The white horse and motto, of course, were imported with the Georges from Hanover.

In 1792 the regiment was honoured by having Abercromby as its Colonel; and when he fell in Egypt, on the 28th of March, 1801, his character was held up to the admiration of the army in "General Orders," "as worthy the imitation of all who desire, like him, a life of honour and a death of glory."

On the 24th of May, 1832, His Majesty King William IV. was graciously pleased to confer on the regiment the title of VIth OR ROYAL FIRST WARWICKSHIRE REGIMENT OF FOOT, and the facings were changed from yellow to blue.

3rd Anglo-Dutch Regiment.

The fate of the 3rd Anglo-Dutch regiment is involved in obscurity. In Cannon's Records of the Vth Fusiliers, it is simply mentioned as—"afterwards disbanded." Its Colonel, Cannon, was retained by James II. in his service; but who succeeded him after the return of the regiment to Holland in 1685, and why and when this regiment was disbanded or absorbed, does not appear.

The three Scotch regiments which accompanied the Prince of Orange to England in 1688, and did also duty in Scotland, ⁽¹⁾ were subsequently returned to Holland, probably in 1691, when William III.

⁽¹⁾ "Several ships appear in the Firth, in which it is believed is M.-Genl Mackay, and the three Scotch regiments under his command."
—*Edinburgh*, March 21, 1689. (*Lond. Gaz.*)

went to the Hague to concert measures against France. They continued in the service of the United Provinces, acquiring fresh laurels in all the military operations in which Holland acted in conjunction with Great Britain. They continued to be supplied with recruits from Scotland, and were kept up in an efficient condition. In 1763 the officers of the brigade addressed the British Secretary at War, expressing an anxious desire to be removed from the Dutch service, on account of indifferent usage; but their wishes do not seem to have received attention. In 1779 they again made offer of their service to the British Government, stating their unwillingness to remain idle in the garrison towns of the States, while the enemies of their country were uniting against it. It may be here remarked, that while British regiments were in the pay of Holland, the officers' commissions were granted in the name of the States, but their rank was acknowledged here; so that it was not considered necessary for them to have other commissions when they entered upon the establishment of the British army. Thus, when Colonel Hugh Mackay came over to England in 1685, King James promoted him to the rank of Major-General.

On the 8th of December, 1782, the Government Incorporated.
of the United Provinces resolved that the brigade should be incorporated with the Dutch troops; the uniform was altered from red to blue, and a new oath was exacted from the officers. Upon that, about fifty of them retired from the service; these

gallant veterans thinking it inconsistent with their honour as British subjects to take an oath which was virtually to make an abjuration of their native country. The Colonels of the three regiments, Generals Houston, Stewart, and Dundas, were, however, to enjoy their pay for their lives, without being obliged to subscribe the oath, on account of their long and meritorious services. ⁽¹⁾ Several of the officers arrived at Bristol, fully trusting to the resolution of the British cabinet council, that they should be taken under his Majesty's protection. In which they were not disappointed; for in the supplies granted that year by Parliament is this item :—

“ Upon account of several officers late in the service of
the States-General £3,513 9s. 0d.”

Scots Brigade.

A corps was embodied, formed out of the three regiments with some new levies, and designated the SCOTS BRIGADE. It was subsequently numbered as the 94th Regiment, and distinguished itself during a period of ten years' service in the East Indies, and afterwards in the Peninsula under the Duke of Wellington. At the reduction of the army at the Peace, this regiment was disbanded at Dublin on the 24th of December, 1818.

The 94th was again raised in 1823, and Sir Thomas Bradford was appointed its Colonel. (See Historical Record of 94th Reg^t in *United Service Magazine* for 1868, pt. iii., pp. 243, 357, 562.)

(1) *An. Reg.*, xxvi. 194.

CHAPTER IX.

NEW REGIMENTS—ROYAL FUSILIERS—REVIEWS—PARLIAMENT
ASSEMBLED—DISCONTENTS—DISPENSING POWER—BAYONETS SUP-
PLIED—REVIEW AT HOUNSLOW—IRELAND—THE KING'S "PRO-
GRESS"—LORD-LIEUTENANTS REMOVED—BISHOPS TRIED AND
ACQUITTED—BIRTH OF PRINCE OF WALES—PRINCE OF ORANGE
INVITED OVER—OFFICERS OF EIGHTH REG^t CASHIERED—PRINCE
OF ORANGE LANDS IN TORBAY.

ELATED with prosperity, James saw now the opportunity of bringing about the cherished object of his desires—the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion throughout his dominions. As a means to that end, he took advantage of recent occurrences as a plea for increasing the standing forces, and he meditated the procuring the repeal of the Test Acts, whereby Papists should be allowed to serve the state. He had already obtained an augmented income, and he was not hampered with debts, like his father and brother; so that he felt himself more independent of Parliament than they ever were. Instead, therefore, of disbanding the regiments which had been raised during the progress of the insurrection, he continued their maintenance, and even added several more.

James's Inten-
tions.

On the augmentation of the army consequent upon Monmouth's rebellion, the King resolved that

the first infantry raised should be specially appointed for the protection of the artillery, a want that required to be supplied; for, as has been already stated, the artillerymen in charge of guns in the field were artificers only, and not soldiers. The regiment received the appellation of THE ROYAL FUZILIERS, and was the first one in the English service equipped as fusiliers; ⁽¹⁾ and Lord Dartmouth, being Master-general of the Ordnance, was appointed its first Colonel, by commission dated 10th June, 1685. ⁽²⁾ It consisted of thirteen companies of fusiliers and one of miners, each company having three officers, three sergeants, three corporals, two drummers, and one hundred privates. It possessed no company colours, and for that reason, or more probably as a privilege, both the subalterns in each company were styled lieutenants, and the term 1st and 2nd lieutenants was subsequently adopted in all fusilier regiments, and retained until 1854.

The regiment was speedily raised, and on the 2nd July it was quartered in the Tower, but on the suppression of the rebellion it was reduced to eleven companies of fusiliers and the company of miners. In a "Regulation for Musters," dated Whitehall, 21st Feb., 1686-7, it was ordered:

"Our royal regiment of Fuziliers to have Snap-hance musquets, strapt, with bright barrells of 3 foot

⁽¹⁾ The 21st (Fusiliers) was raised in 1678, but not as a Fusilier regiment.

⁽²⁾ Formed doubtless on the model of the French *Régiment des Fusiliers*. (See *ante*, p. 320.)

8 inches long, with good swords, cartouch-boxes, and bionetts.

“Musquetiers of all other regiments of Foot (excepting our regiment of Fusiliers, the Granadiers, and the company of Miners) to have matchlock and snaphance musquetts; the barrells wherof to be 3 Foot 6 Inches long, good swords and bandiliers.

“The companies of Miners to have long carabines, strap; the barrels 3 Foot 2 Inches in length, cartouch-boxes, bionetts, and extraordinary hammer hatchets.”

The uniform coats of the regiment were red lined with yellow, grey breeches and stockings, and yellow conical caps (like grenadiers), instead of the round beavers turned up on one side worn by the rest of the infantry, except pikemen, whose heads were protected with iron pots.

After the Revolution, Lord Dartmouth was deprived of all his offices, and the regiment was honoured by having the Earl of Marlborough appointed as its Colonel.

After active service in Ireland, it embarked for Flanders, and was present at the Battle of Steinkirk in 1692, at Landen in '93, and at Namur in '95. In 1702, under the command of its Colonel, Major-General Sir Charles O'Hara, it took part in the Duke of Ormond's expedition to Cadiz. O'Hara was charged with participating in the plunder of Port St. Mary, and tried by court-martial, but acquitted. He had been an officer of the Earl of

Ossory's regiment of the Anglo-Dutch brigade, and subsequently a Captain and Lt.-colonel in the 1st Guards. He was created a peer of Ireland, with the title of Baron Tyrawley, by Queen Anne in 1706.

The regiment served at sea as marines for some years, and was in the fleet under Admiral Byng sent to preserve Minorca from falling into the power of France; for the failure of which that unfortunate officer was tried by a court-martial and shot at Portsmouth in 1757.

In 1751, when regiments were numbered, this one was placed as the VIIth, obtaining rank from the date of its first establishment. ⁽¹⁾

The Royal Fusiliers took part in the American War. In 1789 the regiment had the honour of being commanded by Prince Edward, afterwards Duke of Kent, father of our gracious Queen. His Royal Highness sailed with his regiment for Quebec in 1791. From North America he proceeded in 1794 to the West Indies, and joined the army under General Sir Charles Grey, engaged in the reduction of Martinique. The Prince's conduct excited the admiration of the army, his life being frequently exposed to imminent peril, and his aides-de-camp, Captain (afterwards General Sir Frederick) Wetherall, and Lieutenant (afterwards Major-general) Vesey, were wounded close to him.

⁽¹⁾ A handsome 4to volume of "The Historical Records of the 7th Royal Regiment of Fusiliers," by Col. G. H. Walker, was printed in 1877.

Other islands were attacked and taken; St. Lucie, where Prince Edward commanded the grenadier brigade, which, with the light infantry brigade under Major-general Thomas Dundas, stormed and carried Morne Fortune. Next Guadaloupe fell into British possession, and then His Royal Highness returned to North America, where he was shortly afterwards appointed Commander of the Forces. A distinguished general officer, Sir Alured Clarke, succeeded to the command of the regiment. He died a Field-marshal in 1832. Next came the gallant Sir Edward Blakeney, who had long served in the regiment; and in 1809, when the West India Islands had again to be conquered, he as a brevet Lieutenant-colonel received a gold medal for his conduct on that occasion, and the VIIth were specially permitted to have "MARTINIQUE" inscribed on their colours.

In 1809 the second battalion (which had been added in 1804) proceeded to Portugal, and Sir Arthur Wellesley arrived soon after to take the command of the army. In January of the next year the 1st battalion, mustering upwards of one thousand officers and men, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Blakeney, arrived from North America to take part in the desperate struggle in the Peninsula, under the then Viscount Wellington.

The perils and exploits of that brave army, outnumbered—as British armies always are—by a gallant and enterprising foe, are matters of history worthily recorded. Suffice it to say, that

the two battalions of the VIIth and the XXIIIrd formed the Fusilier brigade of the Fourth Division under Major-general the Hon. G. Lowry Cole. In the powerful language of one of the historians of the Peninsular War, the charge of the Fusilier brigade at Albuera (16th May, 1811) is thus described :—"Myers⁽¹⁾ was killed; Cole, and the three Colonels, Ellis, Blakeney, and Hawkshawe, fell wounded; and the fuzilier battalions, struck by the iron tempest, reeled and staggered like sinking ships. Suddenly and sternly recovering, they closed on their terrible enemies, and then was seen with what a strength and majesty the British soldier fights. In vain did Soult, by voice and gesture, animate his Frenchmen. . . . Nothing could stop that astonishing infantry. . . . The rain flowed after in streams discoloured with blood, and fifteen hundred unwounded men, the remnant of six thousand unconquerable British soldiers, stood triumphant on the fatal hill!"⁽²⁾

Sir George Lowry Cole, in his despatch, says :—"In this attack, and carrying the enemy's position, the Fusilier brigade lost 1,000 out of 1,500 men, and 45 officers, among whom were three commanding officers; and exhibited an example of steadiness and heroic gallantry which history, I believe, cannot surpass."

⁽¹⁾ Lieut.-col. Sir William Myers, commanding 1st Batt. Royal Fusiliers. He fell at the early age of 28. Major Blakeney succeeded to his command.

⁽²⁾ Napier, iii. 540.

During the War commissions were liberally bestowed by the Great Duke on non-commissioned officers as a reward for their admirable conduct.

At the termination of the Peninsular War the VIIth was not allowed to enjoy much repose, for it was one of the regiments selected to take part in the war which had broken out with the United States of America in 1814. The 1st battalion, made up by drafts from the 2nd to 1,000 rank and file, embarked at Plymouth on the 4th October, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Blakeney. The Treaty in 1815 admitted its return, but too late to participate in the glorious victory which gave peace to Europe: it disembarked at Ostend on the very day of Waterloo. It, however, formed part of the Army of Occupation.

In the summer of 1822 the VIIth had the honour of mounting guard at the Royal Pavilion, Brighton, during the residence there of George IV.; and in 1828 it was divided into six service and four depôt companies—the system at that time—and embarked for the Ionian Islands, then under British protection.

July, 1836, found the regiment doing King's duty at Windsor. While there, a superb piece of plate for the officers' mess-table was presented by the King, with the following inscription:—

*“The gracious gift of King William the Fourth,
July, 1836.*

“His Majesty remembers with satisfaction that he became a member of the Mess of the ROYAL

FUSILIERS at Plymouth in the year 1786; and he has directed his son, Colonel Lord Frederick Fitz-Clarence, who had the advantage of commanding the Regiment during some years, to present this piece of plate as a mark of his Majesty's approbation, of his high sense of the gallant and admirable services, and of the exemplary discipline and gentlemanly conduct which have uniformly distinguished the ROYAL FUSILIERS."

Regiments
raised.

In the months of June, July, and August, 1685, James had raised six regiments of Horse, two of Dragoons, and nine of Foot, and most of them were encamped on Hounslow Heath. The first cavalry corps raised was styled The Queen's Regiment of Horse (now 1st King's Dragoon Guards), and took rank next to the Royal Regiment of Horse. The Colonel appointed to it was Sir John Lanier.⁽¹⁾

At the beginning of August a review was held on the Heath of the following troops:—

Two squadrons of the reg ^t of Horse (E. of Oxford)	300
Two ditto ditto Queen's ditto	240
Batt ⁿ of the Royal regiment of Foot	550
Col. M'Kay's Scotch ditto from Holland	528
Col. Balfour's ditto ditto from Holland	528
Col. Wachup's ditto ditto from Holland	528
Grenadiers to the 3 troops of Horse Guards (Life)	192
Three troops of Horse Guards (Life)	600
Two batt ⁿ s of the First reg ^t of Foot Guards	1,040
Batt ⁿ of the Coldstream reg ^t of Guards	560
Royal reg ^t of Fusiliers	590
	<u>5,656</u>

⁽¹⁾ Afterwards Lt.-general. Died of wounds received at the Battle of Steinkirk.

Another review was held at the same place on the 22nd August. On the 25th the King wrote to the Prince of Orange:—

“On Saturday last I saw some of my troops at Hounslow; they consisted of ten battalions of foot, of which three were of the guards, and the other seven new-raised regiments; of horse there were twenty squadrons, and one of grenadiers on horseback, and one of dragoons; and really the new troops of both sorts were in very good order, and the horses very well mounted. I was glad that the Marischal d’Humieres saw them, for several reasons.”

It appeared by the Royal Warrant subjoined; Troops employed.
that the troops quartered in London were extensively employed in labour at this time:—

“JAMES R.—Our will and pleasure is, that out of the monies appointed for the contingent use of our guards, guarisons, and land-forces, you pay unto the persons hereafter mentioned the summe of one hundred and sixteen pounds eleven shillings and sixpence, which We are graciously pleased to allow for the work done in Hyde Parke, after the rate of sixpence per diem to every non-commission officer and soldier employed therein; viz.: unto Major Eyton the summe of seaventy-nine pounds fifteen shillings and sixpence, for the labour of three thousand one hundred ninety-one men of Our First regiment of Foot Guards; to Captain John Miller the summe of thirty-five pounds eight shillings, for the labour of fourteen hundred and sixteen men of Our Coldstream regiment of Foot Guards; and to Thomas Richers the summe of eight-and-twenty shillings, for the labour of fifty-six men of Our Royall regiment of Fuziliers. Which summes are to be paid without deduction to the respective non-commissioned officers and soldiers as afore-said, &c. Given, &c., 18th March, 1685-6,

“By his Ma^{ty}s commands,

WM. BLATHWAYT.

“To Our Rt. trusty, &c., Richard, Earl of Ranelagh, Paymaster, &c.”

The King's
Speech.

On Nov. 9th the Parliament reassembled. The King, in his opening speech, having congratulated the two Houses on the restoration of domestic peace, went on to say that it must occur to every one, on reflecting, with what an inconsiderable number the insurrection had commenced, and how long it was carried on unopposed; that the militia was not to be depended upon, and that nothing but a good force of well-disciplined troops, on constant pay, could defend the country from those who would disturb the peace either at home or from abroad. That, on this account, he had considerably increased his army, and he looked to them cheerfully to afford him a supply to support this great charge, which was now more than double what it was. He admitted that there were some officers employed on the late occasion who were not qualified to hold commissions by virtue of the Test Act, but their loyalty was unquestionable, and he must decline to dismiss those who had served him in time of need, and whose services might again be required. "Thus the King," says Burnet, "fell upon the two most unacceptable points that he could have found out; which were a standing army, and a violation of the Act of the Test." Moreover, unfortunately for James's views, on the 12th October of this year, Louis had revoked the Edict of Nantes, and although this country benefited by the immigration of so many skilled artisans, who imported their arts and manufactures which had hitherto contributed so largely to the exclusive prosperity of

France, yet the bigotry and cruelty which had driven these men from their homes with the object of abolishing the Protestant religion in France were unanimously regarded with horror and indignation.

The result of the debate was that the Commons A Debate. resolved to grant a supply, but reduced to £700,000 from the £1,200,000 which was moved for; at the same time the House, to mark its disapprobation of the measures suggested by the King, accompanied it with a bill "to render the militia more useful." Instead of assenting to his proposals in favour of the Romanist officers; it promised to relieve them of the penalties they had incurred by a bill of indemnity; and because the continuing of these persons in their employments might be taken to be a dispensing with that law without Act of Parliament (the consequence of which was of the greatest concern to the rights of all his Majesty's subjects, and to all the laws made for security of their religion), the King was humbly besought to give such directions therein, that no apprehensions or jealousies might remain of his Majesty's good and faithful subjects.⁽¹⁾ The Peers caught up the spirit displayed by the Commons, and concurred in the Address. James, like his brother, attended constantly in the House of Peers. He listened to the debate with feelings of vexation and disappointment, and secretly determined to accomplish by his own authority that which he was not permitted

⁽¹⁾ *Parl. Hist.*, iv. 1,379.

to effect by Act of Parliament. He therefore put an end to the deliberations of the legislature by prorogations, renewed until the Parliament was finally dissolved on July 2nd, 1687. He sought to procure the repeal of the Test Act by application to the Scotch Parliament, but the opposition to it was so violent that the Lord Commissioner Murray received orders to prorogue the Assembly.^c It ultimately shared the same fate as that of England, and met no more.

Dispensing
Power.

James pursued his project for the removal of the disabilities of Roman Catholic officers; and patents under the great seal were issued, discharging them from the penalties to which they were liable under the Act of 25 Charles II. It appears that it had been suggested to him that it was in the power of the Sovereign—if he chose to exert his prerogative—to dispense with that statute. The Judges were consulted separately and in private; those who dissented or expressed doubts were removed from office, and the vacancies filled by others of less scrupulous principles; consequently judgment was pronounced in a case raised for the occasion. Sir Edward Hales, Baronet, of Woodchurch, Hackington, Kent, a convert to the Church of Rome, was appointed to the command of one of the newly-raised regiments of foot. Godden, his servant, was instructed to bring an action against his master for the penalty of £500, for holding a commission in the army without having previously qualified according to the provisions of the Test Act. Hales pleaded a dispensation under

the great seal. The cause was heard in the Court of King's Bench, and Sir Edward Herbert delivered judgment in favour of the defendant, on the ground that the King of England was a sovereign prince, and that the laws were his laws; whence it followed that it was part of his prerogative to dispense with penal laws in particular cases and upon necessary reasons, of which he was the sole judge; and that this was not a trust committed to him by the people, "but the ancient remains of the sovereign prerogative, which never had been taken, nor can be taken from the kings of this realm."⁽¹⁾

This decision gave universal dissatisfaction; it was in fact to determine that the constitution of England was an absolute and not a limited monarchy; and while the hopes of a few were elevated, the rest of the people were filled with dejection and fears. Many persons resigned their offices; James, however, took no heed of these apprehensions, but exercised his claim without restraint. Every repetition served to add to the alienation of his subjects, until the despair of obtaining redress urged them to place another Prince on the throne, with the proviso in the Bill of Rights, "that the pretended power of suspending of laws, or the execution of them, by regal authority without consent of Parliament, is illegal."⁽²⁾

Dissatisfaction.

1686,—Early in this year new arms were supplied to the troops generally, and a royal warrant

Bayonets.

(¹) *State Trials*, xi. 1,165.

(²) "Declaration of Rights." *Parl. Hist.*, v. 110.

directed that bayonets be provided for the two regiments of Guards.⁽¹⁾ By "An Account of Contingent Disbursements made for the use and service of H. M. Coldstream regiment of Foot Guards," bayonets were delivered to that regiment only on the 21st May.⁽²⁾ It is remarkable that the infantry battalions should not have been earlier supplied with these weapons (hitherto only the grenadier companies had been furnished with them), seeing that Prince Rupert's regiment of dragoons was armed with them in 1672, and that the French troops, whose equipments were usually quickly followed here, had used them since 1671.

The King, with the object of convincing the people that he was determined, if necessary, to support his authority by force of arms, lost no opportunity of parading the military before them. Evelyn records being present at one of these demonstrations on the 16th March, 1686, the metropolis then being the hotbed of opposition.

"I was at a review of the army about London,

(1) "JAMES R.—It being necessary that all the musquetteers in Our two regiments of guards sh^d for their more complete arming, be furnished with bayonets; Our will and pleasure is, that you cause to be delivered to the respective officers of our s^d regiments the number of such bayonets as Our said stores afford, proportionable to the s^d musquetteers in each of them, &c.

"By his Maj^{ty}'s command,

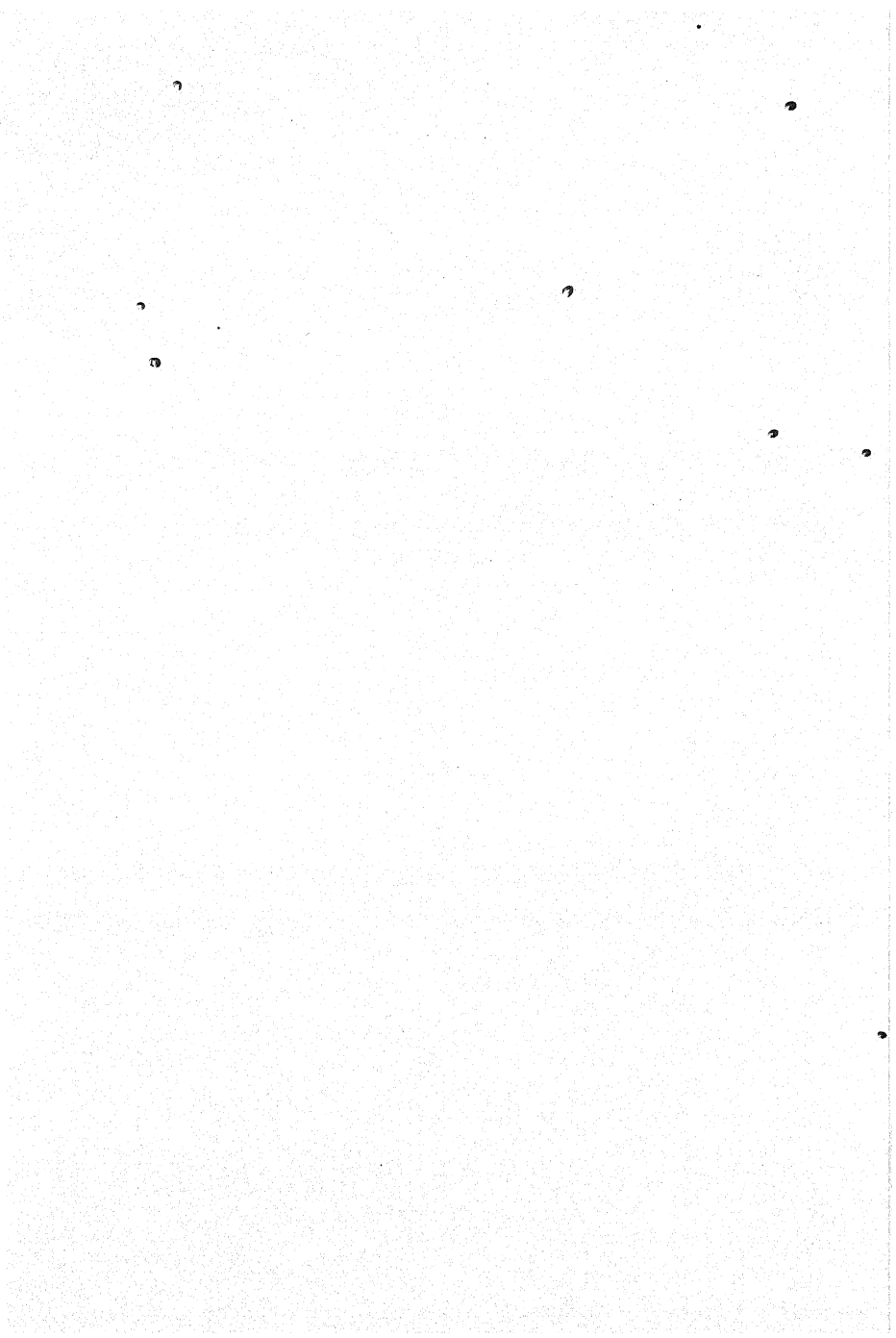
"SUNDERLAND.

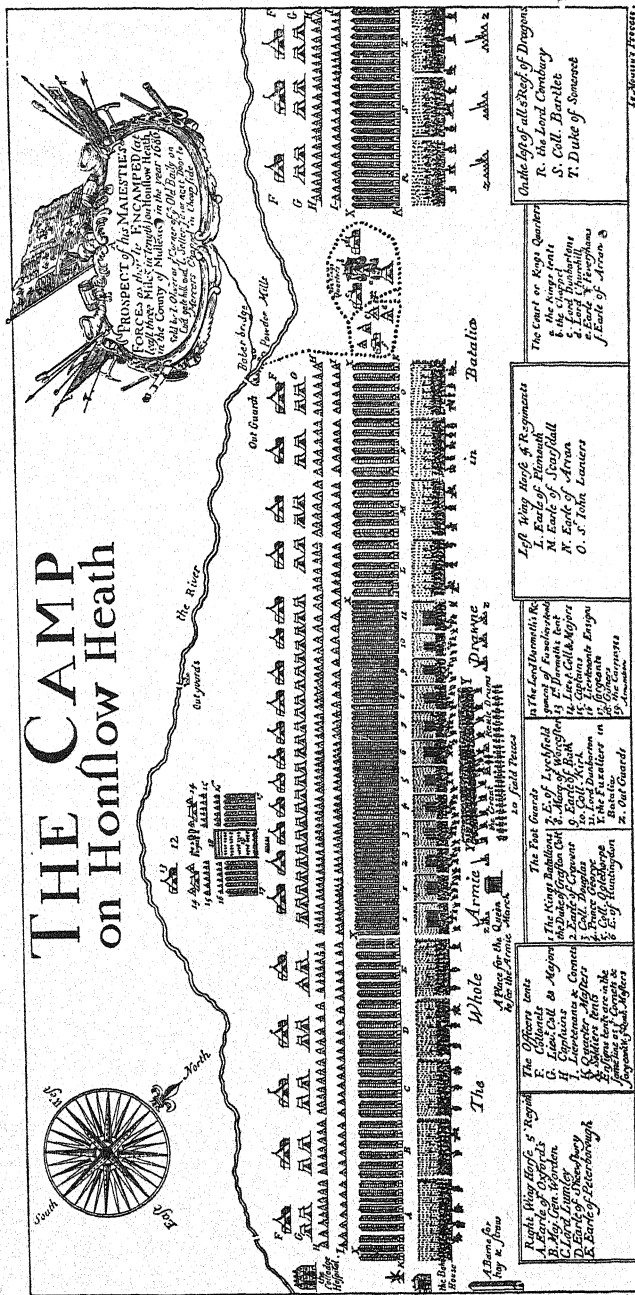
"Whitehall, 22 day of February, 1685-6.

"To Our trusty and well-beloved Cousin, Lord Dartmouth, &c."

(2) "21st May, 1686.—For taking out and carrying of
the Bagonets [sic] for the regiment . . . £0 14s. 6d."

(Mackinnon, ii. 297.)





From an Engraving in Lib. R. U. Ser. Inst.

in Hyde Park, about 6,000 horse and foot, in excellent order; his Majesty and infinity of people being present."

In May and June most of the old and the newly-raised regiments were encamped on Hounslow Heath.⁽¹⁾ A grand review of the whole force took place on the 30th June. Among various orders then issued was one directing that "the Colonel and other officers upon duty, shall wear their gorgetts." The Scots Guards were brought from Edinburgh for the occasion, and made their first appearance in England. James took a great interest in the proceedings, and passed much of his time at the camp. The Queen and the Princess Anne dined with him there on the day of the Review.⁽²⁾ He congratulated himself that "he had formed a very complete body of men, tho' not very numerous (not exceeding 13,000 or 14,000), with the reputation of being the best paid, the best equipped, and the most sightly troops of any in Europe; and tho' they gave some umbrage at home, they raised the King and kingdom's credit to a great degree abroad."⁽³⁾

Hounslow
Heath.

⁽¹⁾ "All the army is now at Hounslow in a line of 2,930 paces, about 16,000 strong. On Wednesday the great review is."

(Letter dated 26th June, 1686. Ellis, *Cor.*, i. 125.)

⁽²⁾ Dalrymple, ii. 103. *App.*, B. III. and IV. Ellis, *Cor.*, i. 153.

⁽³⁾ *James II.*, ii. 71.

A LIST OF KING JAMES'S ARMY ON HOUNSLOW HEATH, AS THEY LAY ENCAMPED, WITH THE NAMES OF ALL THE GENERAL AND FIELD OFFICERS, COLOUR OF THEIR CLOATHS, NUMBER OF MEN, AND MANNER OF ENCAMPING, &c., JUNE 30TH, 1686.

HIS MAJESTY, GENERALISSIMO.

Earl of Craven	} Lieut.-Generals.	Lord Churchill	} Major-Generals.
Earl of Feversham		Col. Worthen	
Earl of Dunbarton	} Brigr.-Generals.	Col. Mackay	} Adjutant-Generals.
Sir John Phenwick ⁽¹⁾		Col. Orbee (<i>Orbey</i>)	
Sir John Lannere		Col. Ramley	
Col. Sackville		Col. Maxwell, Quartermaster-General.	} Lord Ranelagh, Paymaster-General.
Col. Kirke		Capt. Sheales, Commissary-General.	
		Lord Dartmouth, General of the Ordnance.	

REGIMENTS.	FIELD OFFICERS' NAMES.	COLOUR OF CLOATHS.	Troops or Com- pany's.	Men each.	Total Men.
HORSE ON THE RIGHT.					
1. Earl of Oxford ...	{ E. of Oxford, Col. ... Sir Fra. Compton, L.-Col. ... — Littleton, Maj. ... }	{ Blue lin'd with ... red }	9	50	450
2. Major-Gen. Worthen's	{ Maj.-Gen. Worthen, Col. ... Barni Howard, L.-Col. ... — Morgan, Maj. ... }	{ Red lin'd with ... red }	6	40	240
3. Queen Dowager's ...	{ Lord Lumley, Col. ... — Vernon, L.-Col. ... — Cunningham, Maj. ... }	{ Red lin'd with ... green }	6	40	240
4. Earl of Shrewsbury's	{ E. of Shrewsbury, Col. ... — Coy, L.-Col. ... John Skelton, Maj. ... }	{ Red lin'd with ... buff }	6	40	240
5. Earl of Peterborough's	{ E. of Peterborough, Col. ... Sir John Talbot, L.-Col. ... — Chiltam, Maj. ... }	{ Red lin'd with ... red }	6	40	240
FOOT.					
1. The 1st battalion, Col. Stradling Comdt. ...	{ D. of Grafton, Col. ... William Eaton, L.-Col. ... Knevit Hastings, Maj. ... }	{ Red lin'd with blue, ... blue breeches and ... stockings }	7 One of them Grenadiers.	80	560
2. The King's, 3rd Batt., Capt. Reresby Com.	{ E. of Craven, Col. ... Col. Sackville, L.-Col. ... — Hewit, Maj. ... }	{ Red lin'd with blue ... blue breeches and ... white stockings ... }	6 Half Grenadiers.	80	480
3. Earl of Craven's 1st battalion, Maj. Hewit Commandant ...	{ Sir James Douglas, Col. ... — Wondrum, L.-Col. ... Sir Charles Murray, Maj. ... }	{ Red lin'd with ... white, white ... breeches and ... stockings }	7	80	560
5. Prince George's ...	{ Sir Chas. Littleton, Col. ... — Nicholson, L.-Col. ... — Baggot, Maj. ... }	{ Red lin'd with yellow, grey breeches and stockings ... }	12	50	600
6. Colonel Oglethorpe's...	{ Sir Theo. Oglethorp, Col. ... Lord Hunsdon, L.-Col. ... — Starling, Maj. ... }	{ Red lin'd with ash, ash colour'd breeches and stockings ... }	12	50	600
7. Earl Huntingdon's ...	{ E. of Huntingdon, Col. ... Ferd. Hastings, L.-Col. ... — Morgan, Maj. ... }	{ Red lin'd with yellow, yellow breeches, grey stockings ... }	10	50	500
8. Earl of Litchfield's ...	{ E. of Litchfield, Col. ... — Salisbury, L.-Col. ... — Trapps, Maj. ... }	{ Red lin'd with white, blue breeches and stockings ... }	10	50	500
9. Marq. of Worcester's	{ M. of Worcester, Col. ... Sir John Hanmore, L.-C. ... — Carr, Maj. ... }	{ Red lin'd with tawny, tawny breeches and stockings ... }	10	50	500
10. Earl of Bath's ...	{ E. of Bath, Col. ... Sir Nich. Slanning, L.-C. ... Sir Chas. Carney, Maj. ... }	{ Blue lin'd with red, red breeches and stockings ... }	10	50	500
11. Colonel Kirk's ...	{ Chas. (?Piercey) Kirk, C. ... — Kirk, L.-Col. ... — Lesley, Maj. ... }	{ Red lin'd with green, green breeches, and white stockings ... }	10	50	500
12. Earl of Dunbarton's ...	{ E. of Dunbarton, Col. ... — Douglas, L.-Col. ... — Douglas, Maj. ... }	{ Red lin'd with white, grey breeches and stockings ... }	11 One Grenadier.	50	550

(1) Fenwick. Spelling in those days was quite arbitrary.

A LIST OF KING JAMES'S ARMY—*continued.*

REGIMENTS.	FIELD OFFICERS' NAMES.	COLOUR OF CLOATHS.	Troops or Companies.	Men each.	Total Men.
HORSE ON THE LEFT.					
1. Earl of Plymouth's (¹)	{ E. of Plymouth, Col. ... — Sunderland, L.-Col. ... — Worthen, Maj. ... }	{ Red lin'd with green ... }	6	40	240
2. Earl of Scarsdale's ...	{ E. of Scarsdale, Col. ... — Langton, L.-Col. ... — Norton, Maj. ... }	{ Red lin'd with yellow ... }	6	40	240
3. Earl of Arran's ...	{ E. of Arran, Col. ... — Needby, L.-Col. ... — Parker, Maj. ... }	{ Red lin'd with white, with white silk sashes ... }	6	40	240
4. The Queen's ...	{ Sir John Lannere, Col. ... — Legg, L.-Col. ... — Sir William Board, Maj. ... }	{ Red lin'd with yellow ... }	6	40	240
DRAGOONS.					
1. The King's ...	{ Lord Cornbury, Col. ... — L.-Col. ... — Maj. ... }	{ ... }	6	40	240
2. Princess of Denmark's ...	{ Charles Bartlett, Col. ... — L.-Col. ... — Halley, Maj. ... }	{ ... }	6	40	240
3. The Queen's ...	{ D. of Somerset, Col. ... — L.-Col. ... — Maj. ... }	{ ... }	6	40	240
4. The Fuziliers ...	{ Lord Dartmouth, Col. ... — Saintclare, L.-Col. ... — Soper, Maj. ... }	{ Red lin'd with yel- low, grey breeches and stockings ... }	12 One Miners	50	600
NOTE.—That only private Centinels are reckoned.			Gunners ...	56	} 84
			Matrosses ...	28	
					10,144

THEIR MANNER OF ENCAMPING.

The Horse, Foot, and Dragoons are encamped in a direct line, the intervals between each Regiment of Horse about 50 paces, the intervals between the Foot 70 paces, the intervals between the Horse of the Left and the Dragoons (because of the ground) is near half a mile.—The Lieutenants' and Ensigns' Tents in the Rear of their respective Companies in a direct line, 17 paces from the Soldiers' huts or tents; the Captains' tents 12 paces behind the Lieutenants'; the Colonels' tents behind the Captains' 10 paces; the Lieut.-Colonel on the right of the Colonel, and the Major on the left in a direct line.

Sir John Phenwick (as eldest Brigadier) his tent in rear of the center of the Horse on the right, 20 paces behind the Colonels' tents. Sir John Lannere (as 2nd) in the rear of the left Reg^t of Horse on the left. Col. Sackville (as 3rd) in the rear of the interval between L^d Craven's Reg^t and the Scotch guards. Col. Kirk's (as 4th) in the rear of the interval between his own and the E. of Bath's Reg^t, all four in a direct line.

The King's Quarters is in the rear of the left of the Horse on the

(¹) Thomas Hickman, Lord Windsor, advanced to the dignity, of Earl of Plymouth, 6th December, 1682.

left, in an inclosed field, in which quarter are the following tents viz. :—

The King's Tent and Chappell	The General's Quarters is behind the King's, in which are these tents, viz. :—	Earl of Fever-sham's Col. Worthen's Lord Ranelagh Col. Orbe,
Lord Churchill's		
Adjutant General's		
Quarter Master General's		
Sir Charles Murray's		
Earl of Dunbarton's		

The Fuziliers are encamped in the rear of the Line, a good distance behind the interval between the E. of Craven's Regt and the Scotch Guards, and in several parties about the Store carriages.—The guns are planted about 100 paces before the line, before the interval between the Scotch Guards and P. George's Regt, guarded by a party of Fuziliers, each gun having 2 gunners and a matrosse to attend it.—The Queen's Scaffold was about 150 paces to the right of the guns, something more advanced from the Line.—The Suttlerly Booths are about 200 paces in the rear of the Line.

Note, That besides the Forces above mentioned, there were three Troops of the Horse Guards and Grenadiers this day.

Antiquarian Repertory, i. 230.

King's "progress."

On the 23rd August of that summer of 1686, the King "took a small progresse to the West,"⁽¹⁾ in company with Prince George of Denmark. The first night he lay at Marlborough; the 24th at the Duke of Beaufort's, at Badminton; the 25th at Bristol; the 27th at Bridgwater, and from thence he visited the scene of the late conflict at Sedgemoor,⁽²⁾ a circumstance not mentioned in his

(1) *James II.*, 71.

(2) Extract from Churchwardens' Account at Weston-Zoyland in 1686 :—

	£	s.	d.
"Item, p ^d Ben Page, John Keyser, and others for ringing, when the King was in the more	0	7	0
It., p ^d for taking up the slapes (i.e., sleepers, or temporary bridge), which was laid over brod ryne when the King was in the more	0	1	6
It., expended then in beere, and the next day when the King came through Culston	0	8	10

Memoirs. On the 28th he was the guest of the Earl of Pembroke, at Wilton; and returned to Windsor on the 31st, by Southampton and Portsmouth.⁽¹⁾

A fourth Troop of Life Guards was formed this year, of which Lord Dover was appointed Colonel. Fourteen horse-grenadiers were transferred from the three other troops, and with eight recruits composed its quota of grenadiers, the same number as were attached to each of the other troops. On the 14th October, the King's birthday, the four troops were paraded in Hyde Park. "The officers wonderfully rich and gallant. The Colonels did not head their troops, but their next officers; the Colonels being on horseback by the King whilst they marched."⁽²⁾

New Troop of
Life Guards.

James had turned his special attention to Ireland, as a source from which Roman Catholic soldiers might be supplied to his armies. There existed then as now the antagonism of race as well as of religion; the Protestants were much outnumbered by the Papists, and ever since the republicans were granted lands by Cromwell, rancour and hostility was rife among the adventurers and the natives, repressed only by the Protestants' iron rule. Ormond, who had governed the island equitably since the Restoration, received intimation in the last year of Charles II.'s reign of the intention to withdraw him from the Lord-lieutenancy, at the instigation, it is stated, of the Duke of York,⁽³⁾

Ireland.

(1) Luttrell, i. 384.

(2) *Ibid.*, 386. Evelyn, ii. 258.

(3) Harris, *Life of William III.*, i. 178.

but no doubt the prime mover in it was Tyrconnel.⁽¹⁾ Before his actual removal the King died; but James, immediately on his accession, renewed the orders for his recall, and the Lord Primate and the Earl of Granard were declared Lords Justices to administer the government in the interim, until the appointment of the Earl of Clarendon, in Dec., 1685—a moderate man in every sense—with the view, perhaps, of concealing the designs that were contemplated. For the real power lay with Tyrconnel, who was appointed Lieut.-general of Ireland, and a Privy Councillor. He boasted openly of the changes that should be made both in the civil and military service. He summarily dismissed about three hundred officers, under circumstances of great individual hardship—men who had served faithfully, and many of whom had purchased their commissions; he also discharged about 4,000 men out of the 7,000 of the Irish army, and he supplied their places with Irish Roman Catholics. “You must know, my lord,” said he to Clarendon, “the King, who is a Roman Catholic, is resolved

(1) Generally known as Dick Talbot, fifth son of an old English family of the Pale, which had been concerned in the Irish rebellion; but he had joined Charles II. when in exile, and had ingratiated himself with him and the Duke of York. According to Lord Chancellor (1st Lord) Clarendon, he had offered to assassinate Cromwell. He had tried to show his devotion to the Royal family by attempting to break off the match between Ann Hyde and the Duke of York by infamous suggestions, so no wonder he was obnoxious to the Clarendon family. He also had laid a plan to murder the Duke of Ormond. He was a man of a violent nature, and destitute of honourable principles. James, on his accession, created him Earl of Tyrconnel. He followed the fortunes of James, by whom in his exile he was made Duke of Tyrconnel.

to employ his subjects of that religion, and therefore some must be put out to make room for such as the King likes. And I can tell you another thing: the King will not keep one man in his service who ever served under the Usurpers." (1)

The consequence was that those officers who could escape from the island repaired to Holland, where they were provided for by the Prince of Orange, and afterwards accompanied him to England.

Under these circumstances, Clarendon's tenure of office was not likely to last long. He was shortly afterwards removed; and Tyrconnel, only awaiting the vacancy, was installed in his place. His special duty was to raise the Irish interest to a decided superiority over the English, so that Ireland might offer a secure asylum to James and his supporters, if by any revolution he should be driven from the English throne. He had a deeper object still—to render his native country independent of England, in case James should die without male issue, and the Prince and Princess of Orange should inherit the crown. Louis XIV., who regarded the Prince as the most dangerous of his enemies, entered warmly into the project, and so important was it considered that the secret should be kept inviolate, that it was withheld from the Prime Minister Sunderland, and even from the French Ambassador. (2)

Tyrconnel's
Views.

(1) *Clar. Cor.*, i. 431.

(2) Lingard, viii., ch. iii. Also Note D. "For this interesting fact," he says, "we are indebted to the industry of Mazure, who discovered it in the despatches of Bonrepaux."

By the laws of England it was high treason for any person to assume the office of the Pope's Nuncio; yet, nevertheless, Count Ferdinand d'Adda was accredited to the British Court in that capacity. ⁽¹⁾ The Duke of Somerset, being the lord of the bed-chamber in waiting, declining to introduce him to audience at Windsor on July 3rd, 1686, was deprived of his place, and of the colonelcy of the Queen's Dragoons, which was bestowed on M. General Cannon. The Duke of Grafton, having no scruples of conscience, consented to act upon the occasion. ⁽¹⁾

Additional
mark.

In 1687, new commissions were granted to the two regiments of English Foot Guards, conferring upon the Captains the rank of Lieut.-colonel, and on the Captain-lieutenants that of youngest Lieut.-colonels and Captains. ⁽²⁾

(1) "We expect a public entry from Mr. Dadaw, the Pope's agent."
London, Jan. 18, 1686. *Ellis Corresp.*, i. 19.

(2) "His majesty hath been pleased to grant new commissions to the Captains of his royal regiment of guards, commanded by the Duke of Grafton, by which every Captain of the said regiment is made Lieutenant-colonel and Captain." *Add. MSS.*, 4,194. (The contents of this MS. are now printed as "The Ellis Correspondence.") There appears no doubt that the same rank was granted to the Captains of companies in the Coldstream regiment. (See Mackinnon, i. 190.) In consequence of this additional rank to the Captains, the King issued an Order on the 14th Jan., 1688, that the Captain-lieutenants should rank as junior Lieutenant-colonels and Captains in these regiments. (See also Hamilton, i. 291.)

It had been the custom for officers of the same rank to take precedence according to the seniority of their regiments. But in consequence of a difficulty having arisen, William III. issued an Order in 1690 that officers of all ranks shall in future take post and command according to the seniority of their commissions, without any regard to the antiquity of their regiments. The subalterns of the Guards felt this as a grievance, as they might lose the precedence which they had hitherto enjoyed over the subalterns of other regiments. The extra rank conferred on the superior officers of the Guards remedied their position.

The encampments at Hounslow continued in the summer of each year. The troops were exercised in sham fights and in siege operations. On the 19th July, 1687, the siege of Buda was extemporised ⁽¹⁾ in compliment to James Fitz-James (James's son by Arabella Churchill), who had just returned from it, who, although but a youth of fifteen, had there received his "baptism of fire," and who had already distinguished himself by good service in the Austrian army, where the Emperor had made him Colonel of Taaf's regiment of cuirassiers. ⁽²⁾ On his arrival here the King created him Duke of Berwick, and appointed him to the colonelcy of Princess Anne of Denmark's regiment of Foot, on the retirement, in November, 1686, of Lord Ferrars, who had been instrumental in raising it, and whose commission was dated 19th June, 1685. This corps is now the

In consequence of representations, the King in 1691 granted to the lieutenants of the 1st and 2nd Reg^{ts} of Foot Guards the rank of Captains of Foot.

On 22nd July, 1815, the Prince Regent, on behalf of the King, was pleased to approve of all the Ensigns of the three reg^{ts} of Foot Guards, taking the rank of Lieutenants in the army, and of such rank being attached to all future appointments to ensigncies in the Foot Guards, in recognition of the distinguished gallantry of the Brigade in the victory at Waterloo. In July, 1872, this privilege was lost, in consequence of the suppression of the rank of Ensign in the army.

⁽¹⁾ "I had a commission given me by King James to be a lieutenant in a new-raised regiment (XVth Foot), under the command of Colonel Tufton, brother to the Earl of Thanet. Under this commission I sojourned out two peaceable campaigns on Hounslow Heath, where I was an eye-witness of one mock siege of Buda; after which our regiment was ordered to Berwick, where I remained till the Revolution."—*Mems. of Captain Carleton* (p. 25, ed. 1840.) He had been an officer in Fenwick's Anglo-Dutch regiment (afterwards Vth Regt.)

⁽²⁾ Taaf became Earl of Carlingford on the death of his brother at the Battle of the Boyne.

VIIIth, or THE KING'S REGIMENT. The young Duke rejoined the Imperial army in Hungary in the autumn, and on his return to England in the next year he was made Governor of Portsmouth, in the place of Lord Gainsborough.

Mass was publicly celebrated in Dumbarton's tent at Hounslow.⁽¹⁾ An inflammatory paper was circulated throughout the camp, calling on the soldiers "to be valiant for the truth." It was pronounced libellous and seditious; the authorship was traced to a clergyman, Samuel Johnson, who was in consequence degraded from the priesthood, pilloried, fined, and whipped from Newgate to Tyburn.⁽²⁾

Resignations.

The Lord-lieutenants were ordered to make out lists of persons devoted to the King, from which Mayors and all other county officials should be selected, each of whom was to be asked if he would vote for the repeal of the Test Acts. Most of the Lord-lieutenants declined to comply with these directions, and others resigned or were removed from their offices.⁽³⁾ Among these was the veteran

(1) King James had also a movable chapel of wood on wheels in the camp, where it remained till after the Revolution, when Dr. Tenison begged it of King William and set it up in Conduit Street, and dedicated it to the Holy Trinity. Evelyn mentions that he went up to London (18th July, 1691) to hear the first sermon preached in it. It was used until 1716, when it fell into decay, and a new chapel was built on the site, which was demolished in 1875, and the premises called Ulster-house erected in its place.

(2) *Gazette*, 21st June, 1686. Ellis, i. 190.

(3) "The Earl of Winchelsea is turned out of the Lord Lieutenantship of Kent, and the Earl of Scarsdale out of his regiment of Horse (VIIIth, *Princess Anne's*), and the Earl of Gainsborough out of the Lord Lieutenantship of Hants and Governor of Portsmouth, and the Duke of Berwick in his room. The Duke of St. Albans to have the regiment of Scarsdale's."—Luttrell, i., 422.

Earl of Oxford, who was deprived of the Lieutenancy of Essex, and also of his regiment of Horse, which he had commanded for twenty-six years. It was given to the young Duke of Berwick, who notwithstanding was allowed to retain his regiment of Foot. The Duke of Norfolk resigned his colonelcy of his newly-raised regiment of Foot (now XIIth Foot) which was bestowed upon the Earl of Litchfield ⁽¹⁾ a Roman Catholic. (14th June, 1686.)

James also intended to sound the military, as to whether they would stand by him in the abrogation of the Tests. The Major of Litchfield's regiment, quartered at Blackheath, was directed to assemble the men. He addressed them, and then ordered all those who would not comply with their Sovereign's desire, to lay down their arms upon the ground. The whole regiment, with very few exceptions, threw down their arms. The King was on the ground, and was struck motionless at the sight, but after a pause, he ordered them to take up their arms, and said he would not do them the honour to ask their advice another time. ⁽²⁾

Soldiers
tested.

A crisis in public affairs occurred at the committal of the Bishops to the Tower, where the garrison insisted on drinking their healths, notwithstanding the reprobation of Sir Edward Hales, the Lieutenant. ⁽³⁾ When brought to trial and acquitted

Bishops
committed.

(1) Sir Edward Henry Lee, Bart. He had married a daughter of the Duchess of Cleveland, and was raised to the Peerage in 1674; formerly an officer in the 1st Foot Guards.

(2) Kennet, iii., 487; also Echard and Oldmixon.

(3) Reresby, 396.

by the jury, the verdict was received amidst the wildest acclamations of joy by the people, which were re-echoed at Hounslow camp, where the King happened to be dining with Feversham. ⁽¹⁾

Birth of an heir.

In the very midst of these proceedings, on June 10th, 1688, the Queen gave birth to a son, who received the names of James Francis Edward, and who ultimately became designated as the 'Old Pretender.' This event, which naturally caused great exultation in the Roman Catholic portion of the Court, and among the immediate adherents of the King, was the cause of hastening on a scheme, already in contemplation, for the liberation of the country. The birth of an heir who would doubtless be educated in the faith and principles of his father dashed down the hopes of thousands, who had hitherto submitted to James's misrule, in anticipation that their grievances would be redressed in the succeeding reign of his daughter and her husband. Moreover, by many, the King was accused of having foisted on the nation a supposititious son, who might support after his death the Roman Catholic religion in his dominions. Extensive circulation was of course given by interested parties to this scandal, which in the state of popular opinion, was greedily accepted both in England and Holland. ⁽²⁾

Prince of Orange invited over.

The Prince of Orange had received many invitations from disaffected Englishmen, urging him to

⁽¹⁾ *James II.*, ii., 163. Burnet, iii., 237.

⁽²⁾ "No one can hesitate at present to acknowledge that the Prince of Wales's legitimacy is out of all question."—Hallam, *Constit. Hist.*, ii., 247.

come over at once and rescue this country from the tyranny of their sovereign; but William was of too cautious a temperament to take the advice of those who advocated an immediate recourse to arms. He therefore despatched an emissary ⁽¹⁾ to London—a statesman of great observation—on the plea of congratulating the King upon the birth of a son, but in reality to sound the depth of feeling in England.

His report was so encouraging, that the Prince resolved to watch closely the progress of events, and be prepared for whatever might happen. The chief object of his solicitude was to procure supplies of men, ships and money, without disclosing at the same time his real purpose. He knew that the British army and navy were unsettled in their allegiance; that while he possessed some of the best troops in Europe to oppose an army so affected, and one which—with the exception of the old regiments—was newly raised, undisciplined, and unacquainted with warfare; in any attempt his whole army would act together and be concentrated, whereas that of the King would be divided in duty, and necessarily dispersed to repress local insurrections; that the English coast was open and unfortified, and the seat of government defenceless, accessible to the river, or within a few days' march of the

The Prince's
caution.

(1) William de Zulestein de Nassau; his father was an illegitimate son of the Prince of Orange's grandfather. Appointed Lt.-general in 1690, and served both in Ireland and Flanders. Distinguished himself at the Battle of Landen, July 29th, 1693, and was raised to the peerage by William III., in 1695, by the titles of Baron Enfield, Viscount Tunbridge, and Earl of Rochford.

sea-coast. So that if he intended to dethrone the King—which he probably did, and which he was solicited to do—the whole affair might be summarily decided in a single battle. But there were other considerations, and the question how the French, and even the Protestant alliances, would regard it. Therefore in a manifesto, subsequently issued, he asserted that his objects in coming over were to inquire as to the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales, and to reconcile the King to his people.⁽¹⁾

Insubordination.

In September, 1688, an incident occurred, which “gave the King a very sensible trouble.”⁽²⁾ It appears that while the Duke of Berwick was in command at Portsmouth, and his regiment of Foot in garrison there, Colonel McElligot (who was mentioned before as commanding one of the Roman Catholic regiments formed out of the Anglo-Dutch Brigade and paid by Louis XIV.) arrived at Portsmouth, probably from Ireland, with his regiment, and some forty or fifty recruits above his number. Berwick gave orders to Beaumont, the Lieut.-colonel of his regiment, to draft them into his companies. But he and five Captains refused to receive them, as being “worse men, and foreigners,” as the Irish were then considered. Upon the Duke reporting this act of insubordination, the King commanded that these officers should be sent to Windsor under an escort of horse to be tried by a council of war.⁽³⁾

⁽¹⁾ Dalrymple, ii. 14. ⁽²⁾ Burnet, iii. 285. Reresby, 403.

⁽³⁾ “JAMES R.—Our Will and pleasure is, that you forthwith send up such officers of Our dearest daughter's the Princess Anne of

They were all cashiered; and in consequence several other officers of the regiment resigned their commissions.⁽¹⁾ Burnet says that all the officers of the English army evinced so great unwillingness to be mixed up with those of another nation and religion, that it was believed it had the effect of deciding the King not to accept succours from France; a subject which was then under debate.⁽²⁾

The Dutch entered heartily into the Prince's policy; for they felt how intimately connected they were with what was then taking place in England, which they believed was instigated by a deep design of King Louis for enslaving Europe; and if England fell under the sway of France, the chance of maintaining their independence as a nation would be small indeed. Moreover, they were at this time much irritated with France, which had prohibited the importation of their linen and woollen manufactures; even Dutch herrings were declared inadmissible unless cured with French salt.⁽³⁾ Unaided they were incompetent to cope with their powerful neighbour, if England joined herself to France, or even if she remained neutral. But the common

Denmark's Reg^t of Foot, as have behaved themselves disorderly towards you, and you are to cause them to be put into the custody of ten troopers and a Quarter-master belonging to M.-General Werden's Reg^t of Horse."

"W. BLAYTHWAYT."

"8th Sept., 1688.

(1) See *Records*, VIIITH KING'S REGIMENT. Beaumont was restored to the regiment as its Colonel by the Prince of Orange, 31st Dec., 1688.

(2) See also Ellis, ii. 167, 184, 214. Reresby, 402.

(3) Burnet, iii. 291.

dread and jealousy of the vast and encroaching power of France formed a bond of union with the other States of Christendom; nor was it a question of religions, for in this matter Romanists and Protestants were in unison; and James had been repeatedly urged to join in a league for the safety of Europe; for although James had not entered into any special agreement with Louis, still there existed that sympathy between the two Courts—the sympathy of self-interest—that it amounted to a confederacy. The Pope was also in antagonism with France, and the Archbishop of Cologne happening to die in that year, he supported the Imperialist candidate for the see against the French interest. So that His Holiness joined the league out of hatred to France, and thus became no mean instrument in preserving the reformed religion in England. The Prince of Orange, taking advantage of the meeting of German potentates on this business of Cologne, concocted measures with them to restore England to its ancient liberties, to restrain the aggressions of France, and—what was of high importance—to guard his country while he was absent on his mission. These probably believed that his intentions were such only as he professed in his subsequent manifesto.

The suspicious birth of the heir to the British throne, and the prosecution of the Bishops, brought matters to a crisis, and sent over many influential persons to Holland. The Earl, afterwards Duke, of Shrewbury, resigned the command of his regiment

of horse, ⁽¹⁾ mortgaged his estate for £40,000, repaired to the Hague, and made offer of his sword and purse to the Prince. He was followed by Admirals Herbert and Russel, and several other persons of distinction. The Earl of Devonshire, the Lord Cavendish formerly spoken of, who had succeeded to the title in 1684, and who had been in the preceding year fined £30,000 for striking Colonel Culpeper under great provocation within the verge of the Court, and was committed to the King's Bench prison; although a peer, but compounded for his liberty by giving a bond to pay the full sum, united in making application to the Prince; and the Bishop of London held a secret correspondence with some of the leading men of Holland. But Henry Sidney was the chief agent in the design.

Acting on Sunderland's advice, the King announced in council his intention to call a Parliament, to meet on the 27th November, and the Chancellor was directed to issue writs accordingly. The French and English envoys ⁽²⁾ at the Hague kept a watchful eye upon the Prince's preparations, and felt convinced that they were intended against England, and reported these convictions most earnestly to their Sovereigns. But the Court of England had so often been imposed upon, that little heed

The Envoy's
Report.

(1) 7th, now Vth Drag. Guards. He was succeeded by Richard Hamilton, a Roman Catholic, fifth son of the Hon^{ble} Sir George Hamilton, B^t, from the colonelcy of a reg^t of Irish Dragoons.

(2) White, an Irishman, who had acquired the title of Marquis d'Albeville in Spain on Skelton being transferred to Paris. See *n.* in Macpherson's *Orig. Paps.*, i. 269, as his character.

was taken of them. Louis, however, pressed upon James the immediate necessity of preparing against the intended invasion. He proposed an offensive and defensive league between them, with the offer of 30,000 men to land and occupy Portsmouth, in order to keep open communication with France.⁽¹⁾ The Court party in England was strongly in favour of accepting the offer, but Sunderland opposed it on the grounds that it would subject the King to the thralldom of France, and that the importation of French troops would at once alienate his people's affections, and drive his army to desertion or mutiny. The offer therefore was neither accepted nor rejected, but the treaty was proceeded with. The Spanish Ambassador discovering this, demanded a private audience, at which he endeavoured to induce the King to break with France, assuring him that nothing would more endear him to his Protestant subjects, or more effectually incline his Parliament to grant liberty to the Roman Catholics. James admitted to him that he regretted the intervention of France at this moment on account of its unpopularity, and there the matter ended.

This being the position of affairs, the British Minister at the Hague was directed to demand of the States-General an explanation of the preparations which were being made. The reply, made in a somewhat defiant tone, was that they armed in imitation of his Britannic Majesty; and they might

⁽¹⁾ Burnet and Dalrymple say so. Lingard and Macaulay assert that the offer was only of the services of the fleet.

with more reason demand an explanation as to the alliance into which he had recently entered.

Skelton had taken the bold step, in the interest of his sovereign, to state to the King of France that if his Majesty would direct his minister at the Hague to declare to the States-General the strict alliance between himself and the King of England, and to intimate that in case they attempted anything against him, he would quickly put a stop to their preparations, he believed that it would have the effect of defeating the measures both of the Prince of Orange and of the Protestant cabals.⁽¹⁾ Louis acted at once on the advice, and directed d'Avaux to make such a declaration to the States. The same message was delivered to the Spanish Governor of the Netherlands; and the Marshal d'Humières hastened from Paris to assume the command of the French army in Flanders.⁽²⁾ If anything could have saved James from his impending fate, it was this declaration. But d'Albeville informed his sovereign that the explanation given to him of the armaments in progress in the Republic was, that they were in consequence of the menacing attitude of affairs on the Continent. James, not convinced that the preparations in Holland were designed against himself,⁽³⁾ and believing that the warnings of France were artifices to draw him into an

Skelton's
Action.

(1) Harris's *William III.*, ii. 41.—Macpherson's *Orig. Papers*, i. 263.

(2) Lingard, viii. 236.—Ellis, ii. 177.

(3) This opinion was not confined to the King. "The Dutch are to have 20,000 men encamped near the frontiers, to watch the motions of their neighbours (the French)." (Ellis, ii. 128.)

alliance with her, before the opening of hostilities in Germany, and that the preparations in Holland were justified by the anticipated danger to the States by his union with their inveterate foe—moreover his pride being nettled by the proffered protection of France—instructed d'Alberville to assure the authorities of the States-General that he had entered into no engagement with France; recalled Skelton, and committed him to the Tower. Upon which the French army was marched to the Rhine, under the Dauphin, and laid siege to Philipsburgh. Never was intelligence more welcome to the Prince of Orange, for the removal of the French army left him at liberty to pursue his own designs. For had the Dauphin, instead of going to the Rhine, attacked Maëstricht, the Dutch would not have permitted their troops to pass over to England, when they would have been required for the defence of their own frontiers.⁽¹⁾

James aroused.

And now unmistakeable evidence surprised the King. He awoke to the danger which threatened him, in all its magnitude and nearness. The impolicy of his past misrule flashed on his mind, and he strove by retracing his steps to recover the confidence of his subjects. He sent for the Bishops and solicited their advice; he restored all the officials who had been removed for their opinions; and announced by Proclamation the intention of invasion by the Prince of Orange, and his own of relying on the loyalty of his people. He also

(1) *Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick*, i. 326.

removed the insidious Sunderland from his councils, and replaced him with Sir Richard Graham, created Lord Preston, a Protestant. At the same time, he set about preparing for the defence of the country, with the vigour of his former life. The navy was in fine order, and no difficulty was experienced in sending to sea thirty ships of the line, besides fire-ships, the command of which was given to Lord Dartmouth, the idol of the seamen, and one whose fidelity was never doubted, with orders to station himself at the Gunfleet off Harwich, to watch the motions of the enemy's fleet, and to aim chiefly at the destruction of the transports.

The army, the efficiency of which the King had taken the utmost pains to promote, by camps of instruction which he personally attended, was to be further augmented; nor was there any difficulty in procuring recruits.⁽¹⁾ Commissions were given to the Duke of Newcastle, to Colonel Henry Gage, and Solomon Richards to raise each a regiment of foot; and five regiments of horse were raised by Lord Brandon (son of the Earl of Macclesfield), the Marquis de Miremont (nephew to the Earl of Feversham), the Earl of Salisbury, Henry Slingsby, and George Holman. The Duke of Gordon, a Roman Catholic, was sent to Scotland to put that kingdom into a posture of defence.

On the 1st of November, 1685, the following

⁽¹⁾ "Severall new commissions are given for raising horse and foot with expedition; they are beating up for volunteers in town and country, and they come in very well; the horse have £20 to buy horses" (Luttrell, Sept. 28, 1688). "£12 for every dragoon" (*Add. MSS.*, No. 5,752)

regiments were quartered in and about London, in addition to the Household troops:—

The Earl of Peterborough's Horse	} In the precincts of Holborn.
The Scots Foot Guards.	
The Earl of Arran's Horse	} Clerkenwell and adjacent.
Colonel Wadrop's Foot	
Colonel Hamilton's Horse	} Spital Fields and Tower Hamlets.
Colonel Buchan's Foot	
Troop of Scots Guards	} Westminster, Tower Hamlets, and Minorities.
Royal Regt. of Scots Horse	
Queen's Regt. of Dragoons	
Princess Anne's Dragoons	} Southwark, Lambeth, and Rotherhithe.
Royal Regt. of Scots Dragoons	
Holland Regt. of Foot	
Lord Forbes's Regt. of Foot	

So that with the Scotch forces, and three battalions of foot and a regiment of dragoons out of Ireland, the King made account his army was no less than 40,000 men.⁽¹⁾ The chief command was offered to the Count de Roye, Feversham's brother, an officer of great talent and experience; but on his declining, Feversham was appointed. General Lanier (IInd Horse), with Arran's (Vth) and Hamilton's (VIIth) Horse and Cannon's Queen's Dragoons, were despatched to Ipswich for the safety of Landguard Fort, in case the attempt at landing should be made there. Two regiments of horse and one of dragoons were ordered to Colchester, as supports of them, if necessary. Should the hostile fleet proceed northwards, all these regiments were to advance to Newark; if it should enter the Thames or proceed to the westward, then they were to return to London. The trained bands of London and the

(1) *James II.*, ii. 186.

County Militia had orders to be in readiness to march; and a Proclamation was issued, directing that all horses and cattle should be removed at least twenty miles from the places where the enemy might attempt to land; and the King announced his intention, in the case of a landing having been effected, to head his army in person. He also solemnly conjured his subjects to lay aside all animosities, jealousies and prejudices, and heartily and cheerfully to unite together in the defence of him and their native country.

Rapin, who served under the Prince of Orange, makes the remark, that it was strange that the King had neglected to form a camp of twenty thousand men in the heart of the kingdom, to be ready to march on the first news of the landing. Had his forces been ready, and he had marched into the west, the Prince would have been extremely embarrassed.

The following list of the British Army in Nov., 1688, is printed in Cannon's Records (VII. Drag. Guards), and is compiled from various official documents, chiefly from those in *Harl. MSS.* No. 4,847 :—

List of the
Army.

ENGLISH.				
LIFE GUARDS.				
Officers and Soldiers.				
The King's Own Troop	...	...	293	...
The Queen's ...	...	...	287	...
3rd, or Lord Churchill's	...	...	287	...
4th, or Lord Dover's	...	...	297	...
				} Now 1st and 2nd Life Guards.
				} Disbanded 1689.
HORSE.				
Royal Regiment	...	...	293	...
The Queen's . .	...	...	536	...
Earl of Peterborough's	...	...	359	...
				} Now R. H. G. (Blue).
				} 1st K. D. G.
				} 2nd D. G. (Bays.)

HORSE—continued.

Officers and
Soldiers.

Sir John Fenwick's ...	...	359	...	3rd D. G.
Major-General Werden's ...	...	359	...	Disbanded 1690.
Earl of Arran's ...	...	359	...	4th D. G.
Richard Hamilton's... ..	...	359	...	5th D. G.
The Princess Anne's ...	...	359	...	Disbanded 1692.
The Queen Dowager's ...	...	359	...	6th D. G.
Earl of Salisbury's ...	...	359	...	Disbanded 1689.
Marquis de Miremont's ...	...	359	...	
Viscount Brandon's... ..	...	359	...	
Henry Slingsby's ...	...	359	...	
George Holman's ...	...	359	...	
Sir Thos. Burton's Light Troop	...	60	...	

DRAGOONS.

The Royal Regiment ...	...	589	...	1st R. D.
The Queen's ... ..	...	443	...	3rd Hussars.
The Princess Anne's ...	...	443	...	4th Hussars.

FOOT GUARDS.

1st. or King's Regiment ...	...	...	...
2nd. or Coldstream ...	...	...	...

FOOT.

Royal Regiment ..	...	1,464	...	1st Royal Scots.
The Queen Dowager's ...	...	809	...	2nd Queen's.
Prince George of Denmark's *	...	777	...	Late Admiral's.
The Holland Regiment ...	...	777	...	3rd Buffs.
The Queen Consort's ...	...	809	...	4th King's Own.
The Royal Fusiliers... ..	...	866	...	7th Roy. Fus.
The Princess Anne's ...	...	807	...	8th King's.
Henry Cornwall's ...	...	768	...	9th Foot.
Earl of Bath's ...	...	594	...	10th Foot.
Viscount Montgomery's ...	...	594	...	11th Foot.
Earl of Litchfield's ...	...	594	...	12th Foot.
Earl of Huntingdon's ...	...	594	...	13th Foot.
Sir Edward Hales' ...	...	594	...	14th Foot.
Sackville Tufton's ...	...	594	...	15th Foot.
John Hales' ...	...	927	...	Disbanded.
Roger McElligott's ...	...	927	...	Disbanded.
Archibald Douglas's ...	...	927	...	16th Foot.
Sir Solomon Richards' ...	...	927	...	17th Foot.
Duke of Newcastle's ...	...	927	...	Disbanded.
Colonel Gage's ...	...	927	...	Disbanded.
Colonel Skelton's ...	...	927	...	Disbanded.
Sixteen independent Companies	...	945	...	Disbanded.

Total English ... 30,637

* Incorporated in Coldstream Guards, 1689.

SCOTS.

Officers and
Soldiers.

The Troop of Life Guards ...	132	Disbanded.
Royal Regiment of Horse ...	352	Disbanded.
Royal Regiment of Dragoons ...	357	Royal Scots Greys.
Regiment of Foot Guards ...	1,251	Scots Guards.
Thos. Buchan's Regiment of Fusiliers	744	21st Scots Fusiliers.
John Wachop's Regiment of Foot...	927	Disbanded.

Total Scots ... 3,763

IRISH.

Colonel Butler's Dragoons ...	635	Disbanded.
Battalion of Foot Guards ...	641	Disbanded.
Lord Forbes's Regiment of Foot ...	771	18th Royal Irish.
Anthony Hamilton's *	771	Entered French Service.

Total Irish ... 2,810

CAVALRY.

Life Guards ...	1,286
Horse ...	5,792
Dragoons ...	2,467
	<hr/> 9,545

INFANTRY.

Foot Guards ...	6,385
Line ...	21,288
	<hr/> 27,673
Total ...	<hr/> 37,218

* Author of *Mémoires de Grammont*.

With consummate ability the Prince matured his arrangements. The canals and rivers were now covered with craft of every description, and boats carrying men, horses, arms and ammunition, poured forth from every outlet, making their way to the two great divisions of the fleet in the Zuider Zee, and the mouth of the Maes. These united formed an armament worthy of the occasion. Sixty-five men-of-war took under their protection five hundred transports. The post of honour was accorded to Admiral Herbert, who commanded the whole fleet.

The Prince's
arrangements.

The "small military force" ⁽¹⁾ amounted to nearly 14,500 men, but twenty thousand spare equipments revealed the expectation of support in England, and the intention of a deeper design than that exhibited in the Declaration. The Prince had secured the services of Count Schomberg, a general esteemed the best of the age, now that Turenne and Condé were no more—a veteran of past seventy and yet vigorous—a man of probity, who had thrown up a French marshal's baton for the sake of his religion, and who, moreover, knew England and its language well. General Mackay commanded the English and Scotch regiments, Van Ginckel the Dutch, Count Solms the Prince's Guards and the Brandenbergers, and Count Nassau the French Protestant refugees.

The Prince's
Declaration.

To justify his undertaking to the world, he published a Declaration "that his Expedition was intended for no other design but to have a free and lawful Parliament assembled as soon as possible; that to it he would refer the inquiry into the Birth of the pretended Prince of Wales; that he would keep the Forces under his Command in all the strictness of Martial Discipline, and that he would send back all those foreign Forces as soon as the state of the Nation would admit of it: That therefore he invited and required all Persons whatsoever to come and assist him, in order to the executing his Design," &c.

He leaves
Holland.

On the 16th of October the Prince took his leave of the Assembly of the States, and proceeded

(1) See the Prince's Letter to the Emperor, in Dalrymple, ii. 132.

to Helvoetsluys. On the 19th the fleet got under weigh, his own ship flying the flag of England, with his arms and motto, "JE MAINTIENDRAY." But the wind soon changed and a violent storm arose, which scattered the fleet, so that next day scarcely two ships could be seen. Great fears were entertained for its safety, which raised the hopes of the King, the danger being purposely exaggerated by the Dutch newspapers to encourage a belief that the expedition would be deferred until next year. However, all the vessels were enabled in a few days to get back to their anchorage, excepting one with four companies of an Anglo-Dutch regiment, which was driven ashore on the coast of England.⁽¹⁾ Five hundred horses died for want of air.⁽²⁾ Public prayers were offered up in Holland, fresh stores were supplied, damages were made good, and on the 1st of November the mighty armament again set sail with a fair wind.

The wind blew briskly from the east, and the fleet was steered to the northward, in order to deceive the English advice-boats; for the idea was prevalent in England that the landing would be made in that direction, and the Earl of Danby pressed the Prince to make for the Humber, or for Burlington, "a country abounding in gentry well affected to him, and with serviceable horses." At night the Prince tacked about and put the fleet before the wind, and it was driven down the Channel without encountering a single English ship; for the

Dutch Fleet
collected.

⁽¹⁾ See before, p. 521.

⁽²⁾ Burnet, iii. 313.

east wind prevented the British fleet from coming out. Torbay was reached where, just one hundred years before, the terrible pageant of the Spanish Armada had passed, with the gallant English captains following in its wake. On one side of the bay is Brixham (Broxholme, Burnet calls it), and there, on another anniversary, that of the "Powder Plot"—regarded by the augurs of the expedition as auspicious—the landing took place; the Prince sprang to shore; an obelisk on the pier-head still marks his first footprints on British ground. The artillery and heavy baggage were left on board, and ordered to Topsham, the seaport to Exeter.⁽¹⁾

News reaches
the King.

On the night of the 3rd of November, an express from Dover reached the King at Whitehall, announcing that the Dutch fleet, consisting of about 600 sail, had passed by in the Channel, steering to the westward.⁽²⁾

The King's
Account.

James's account is, that he immediately ordered three battalions of the guards, his own regiment of dragoons and a hundred horse-grenadiers to march with all expedition to Portsmouth for the security of that place, with directions to proceed to Salisbury if the enemy went further westward. The rest of the army was likewise to march in that direction, except three battalions of guards, and Prince George's regiment of foot (late Admiral's Regt.), which he retained about his person. Lanier's division of horse and dragoons was ordered to Salisbury, Fenwick's to Marlborough, and Kirke's

(1) Burnet, iii. 329.

(2) Luttrell, 473.

to Warminster, whither Lanier was to advance as soon as the Commander-in-chief should arrive at Salisbury. The King's design was—as soon as these divisions, comprising twenty squadrons of horse and ten of dragoons, should have reached their destinations—to march as near as possible to the enemy, not only to prevent his advancing, but also to hinder any disaffected persons from joining him till the whole army should have arrived, which with the train of artillery was on its march towards Salisbury, all but the Scotch horse and dragoons and the Irish dragoons, which, being newly arrived and much fatigued, were left behind for some days to refresh themselves.

The Prince, having effected his landing in safety and without any opposition, on the 8th marched into Exeter with much parade, but amidst the discomforts of very bad weather. He was, however, disappointed at the reception he met with, being one so different from that which he had been led to expect. The fact was, that although the people were favourably disposed towards him, the terrible lesson taught by Jeffreys had not yet been forgotten, and every man hesitated to be the first to pronounce. It was not to be supposed that the Prince calculated on gaining supremacy over eight millions of people with 15,000 men: his only plea for coming to England was the invitation of the people themselves. A week passed at Exeter, but no person of note had yet repaired to his quarters; so that the Prince threatened to re-embark, and to leave the

Marches to
Exeter.

people of England and the King to settle their differences among themselves.⁽¹⁾

Treachery.

Now was the King's opportunity, the thought seems to have struck him, so he ordered the army to concentrate itself at Salisbury. The regiment of Horse Guards (Berwick's), the IVth Horse (Fenwick's), the VIIIth Princess Anne's (St. Albans's), and the Royal Dragoons (Cornbury's), were the first to assemble there. Berwick received orders to proceed from Portsmouth, and take the command of them. Fenwick, now a Brigadier-general, had not yet arrived, nor had St. Albans, so that Cornbury was the senior officer. He, in conjunction with Langston, the Lt.-colonel of the VIIIth, with some other officers, formed a design of carrying over these regiments to the Prince. On the arrival of the post, he professed to have received orders to march towards the enemy. Fearing lest Berwick should arrive to disconcert his plans, he led off the regiments with the utmost haste, and marched them day and night. Upon entering Axminster, within six miles of the Prince's cavalry outposts, on the afternoon of the 13th November, they were joined by the Earl of Abingdon, and some thirty or forty gentlemen who pretended to be volunteers. Late at night the regiments were again in motion. Suspicion of treachery then arose, and Cornbury was requested by Major Clifford of his own regiment, and by Major Littleton of the Horse Guards, to exhibit

(1) Dalrymple, ii., *App.*, B. vi.—Burnet, iii. 331.

his orders. Finding himself detected, he and some others galloped off and joined the Prince.⁽¹⁾ The regiments, with the exception of a few deserters, marched back again. Princess Anne's regiment, having been quartered apart from the others, in ignorance of what had occurred, were led by Lt.-colonel Langston to Honiton, where they were welcomed as friends by Talmash, now a Major-general in the Prince's service. Most of the men, however, to their credit, returned to their duty.

The whole transaction has a treacherous appearance, for it is extraordinary that at a critical time no superior officer should have been present, and that the command consequently devolved upon so young an officer, with scarcely any military experience. Berwick does not hesitate to assert that Blathwayt, Secretary of War, in order to further the Prince's cause, purposely delayed sending the orders for him to take charge of the cavalry at Salisbury. When he arrived there, finding that the troops had left, he followed them; and having

(1) *London Gazette*, Nov. 15.—In a Jacobite song, published in 1692, called "The Belgick Boar to the tune of Chevy Chase," beginning "God prosper long our noble King," and preserved in Ritson's *Ancient Songs*, this incident is introduced:—

"O Compton ! Langston ! and the rest,
Who basely from him ran ;
Your names for ever be accurs'd,
By every Englishman !"

The 'Compton' here alluded to was Hatton, cornet in the R. H. G., son of Sir Charles Compton, and nephew of Sir Francis, the Lieut.-colonel of the regiment, who—the King says—would have gone over also, if he had had the chance. Charles and Francis were sons of the Earl of Northampton. The Bishop of London was their youngest brother.

reached Warminster, he was awakened at midnight by cries of "The enemy!" but it turned out to be the regiments coming back. He marched them to Salisbury, their numbers being diminished, according to him, by about fifty troopers and a dozen officers.⁽¹⁾ But Ambrose Norton, Major of St. Albans's regiment, who writes an account of the affair, and who was promoted to the Lt.-colonelcy for his conduct upon this occasion, states that the number of desertions was 178. He says "it was welcome news to his Highness at Exeter, for had we not come when we did, he was resolved to embark at eight next morning, and go back; which had been the result of three councils of war."⁽²⁾

Armour to be
left behind.

It is also a remarkable as well as a suspicious circumstance, that the regiments of horse before marching were directed by an order, signed by Blathwayt, to leave their defensive armour behind.⁽³⁾

But although the numerical loss in this affair

⁽¹⁾ *Mémoires*, 327. ⁽²⁾ Macpherson's *Orig. Papers*, i. 287.

⁽³⁾ "Our Will and Pleasure is, that you cause Our Royal Regiment of Horse, under your command, to march from Winchester on Thursday, being the 8th day of Novr., to Salisbury, where they are to remain untill further orders. And you are to cause the sd. Regiment to leave their armour at Winchester with the Mayor or Chief Magistrate, taking a receipt for the same, to be delivered by them to the officers of Our Ordnance, or such as shall be appointed by them. It is his Mats. pleasure that the several officers may carry their own armour with them, if they think fit. 6th October, 1688."

"To Our Dearly Beloved Natural Son, James, Duke of Berwick, Colonel of Our Royal Regt. of Horse," &c.

Marching Orders, Vol. 3.

(The same orders were sent to the other Regiments of Horse.)

was inconsiderable, and the spirit of loyalty displayed by the majority was even encouraging to the King's cause, still the example was disastrous. Reports were current everywhere that entire corps had gone over to the Prince. The wavering were thus reassured, and supporters of the Prince began to flock to his standard. The first peer of the realm who presented himself at his headquarters was the Earl of Abingdon, who had, as Lord-lieutenant of Oxfordshire, exerted himself so vigorously in quelling the Monmouth insurrection. The Earl of Devonshire proceeded from Chatsworth with a small armed retinue to Derby, where he invited the gentry and yeomen to join him in defence of the Protestant religion. He then visited Nottingham.⁽¹⁾ The numbers that joined him were so great, that the Prince commissioned him to form a regiment of horse, which subsequently, when the Prince became King, took rank as the Xth Horse, and now bears the title of the VIIth, or PRINCESS ROYAL'S DRAGOON GUARDS.

Lord Lovelace was not so successful; he left his residence (Lady Place, near Henley-on-Thames) "with 60 or 70 horsemen, very well appointed," ^{Lord Lovelace.} (2) to join the Dutch army. At Cirencester he was stopped by a strong party of mounted militia, which the Duke of Beaufort had posted to arrest him, upon which Lovelace attempted to cut his way through them. A sharp conflict ensued, and the Major, Lowridge, and his son were killed, but

(1) Kennett's *House of Cavendish*. (2) *Lond. Gaz.*, Nov. 12 to 15.

Lovelace and thirteen of his followers were taken and lodged in Gloucester jail. Thus the militia, which the King had despised, did him good service, and were much applauded by him.⁽¹⁾

Accessions to
the Prince.

Lord Mordaunt, Sir John Guise, and Sir Robert Peyton had accepted commissions to raise three regiments of foot, and the levies proceeded satisfactorily.⁽²⁾ Lord Colchester, son of the Earl of Rivers, and Lieut.-colonel of the new (4th) troop of Life Guards, was among the first of the King's officers who deserted. In Cheshire, Lord Delamere assembled 150 horsemen, marched to Manchester and declared for the Prince. The Earl of Danby, with Lords Lumley, Fairfax and Willoughby, and other persons of influence, collected a small army, made themselves masters of the city of York and declared for a Free Parliament. The important town and citadel of Hull, as well as Newcastle and Berwick, were also secured by them. About the same time Plymouth was gained over to the popular cause, chiefly at the instance of the Governor, the Earl of Bath, "whose defection was more wonder'd at by the King than any which had happen'd, his obligations to the Crown were so great, and his family allways esteem'd so loyall."⁽³⁾ There were two regiments in garrison there, his own (now Xth Foot), which had lately arrived from Tilbury Fort, which the Irish Guards were ordered to occupy; and the Earl of Huntingdon's (now XIIIth L. I.). The garrison was divided in its

(1) *Ellis Corres.*, ii. 295, 299. (2) Echard. (3) *James II.* ii. 230.

political views. Bath and the Lieut.-colonel of Huntingdon's regiment, Ferdinando Hastings (late Captain 1st Guards, and a connection of Huntingdon's), were in the Protestant interest, while Huntingdon and the Major of Bath's, Sir Charles Carney, were devoted to the other. Nearly all the officers and men had declared for the Prince. Bath, Hastings, and several other officers arrested Huntingdon and the other Roman Catholic officers; the two regiments concurred, and thus Plymouth was secured. The Prince subsequently promoted Hastings to the colonelcy of his regiment in December following.

Feversham arrived at Salisbury on the evening after the departure of the cavalry; and believing that the entire brigade had deserted, sent immediate orders to the horse and dragoons in advance at Warminster and Marlborough to fall back at once upon Salisbury, fearing lest the Prince's forces should overpower them, and to the infantry that were marching towards Salisbury to halt and quarter about Windsor, Staines, and other adjoining places.

As soon as Cornbury's defection became known to James, he assembled all the generals and colonels who were in town. He told them that he was prepared to grant all demands as to state policy, so that all grievances should be removed; at the same time he gave them permission to surrender their commissions, and to go where they pleased, to spare them the shame of deserting their lawful sovereign. But, as men of honour, he felt that they would not

follow Lord Cornbury's example. All present avowed their unshaken loyalty, and their determination to fight to the last for his Majesty. Among these were Grafton, Churchill, Kirke, and Trelawny: each belied his assertion, and became a traitor to the King.⁽¹⁾

James goes to
Salisbury.

This declaration, however, decided James to start for the head-quarters of the army. His councils had been much divided, one party maintaining that he should remain in the capital to protect the Queen and his son, and to quell any risings of the populace—for the rabble had already made a raid on the Roman Catholic chapels⁽²⁾—whilst the other urged him to take the field. Possibly Feversham and de Miremont had their misgivings as to the fitness of the Royal army to cope with veteran troops. This sentiment is apparent in one of Barillon's despatches, written on Dec. 9th.⁽³⁾

On the 17th November the King left London, escorted by a detachment of Horse Guards and Irish Dragoons, and arrived at Salisbury on the 19th; but he admits that it was not then possible to put in execution his first project "of enclosing the enemy in a corner of the kingdom."

(1) "O God! that my son should be a rebel!" wrote Clarendon in his *Diary*. "The Lord in his mercy look upon me, and enable me to support myself under this most grievous calamity." A fortnight later he decided to be a rebel himself. The venerable Earl of Oxford did the same.

(2) "The 29 Oct.—The mobile were gott up, and proceeded to pulling down the masse house in Bucklersbury." (Luttrell, i. 472.)

(3) "On ignore ici jusqu'aux moindres règles de la guerre, et hors quelques officiers qui ont servi en France et en Hollande, le reste n'a pas les premières teintures du métier de la guerre."

On the 20th occurred the first of the very few collisions between the troops of the two armies. It was an affair of outposts at Wincanton. The King's interest obviously was to fight, for he was losing strength every hour, while the Prince was gaining it. Moreover, with the latter a battle, however it might terminate, would injure his popularity by wounding the national pride of the English. With the astuteness which formed so marked a feature in his character, he had placed his British regiments in the front, so as to avoid a contest with foreigners. On this occasion a detachment of seventy horse and fifty dragoons and grenadiers, commanded by the loyal Clifford, the gallant Sarsfield, and Cornet Webb, had a skirmish with twenty-five men of Mackay's Scotch regiment, commanded by a Lieutenant Campbell. These fought with such undaunted courage that they maintained their ground for a considerable time; but when they were near being overpowered, a passer-by alarmed the King's party by stating that he had just overtaken a strong body of the Prince's army, which was entering the town, whereupon the royalists hastily retreated.⁽¹⁾ The account of this skirmish was immediately exaggerated into a great defeat of the King's troops.

On the 21st James reviewed the troops assembled at Salisbury. On the following day he was to have gone to Warminster to inspect Kirke's division; but he was prevented by a violent bleeding of the nose,

Providential
Circumstance.

(1) Kennett, iii. 498.

which the King thought happened "very providentially;" for it was believed that a plot was formed to seize his person on the way. Feversham strongly suspected Churchill, and urged the King to have him arrested, but he would not consent to that measure. If James's suspicions were aroused, he thought it best to conceal them. He summoned a council of war to decide upon the question of an advance or retreat. Feversham, Dumbarton, and de Roye argued in favour of a concentration near the capital. This was opposed by Churchill. The King decided to act on the former opinion, and all the troops about Salisbury were ordered to march towards London. Kirke was directed to retire with his division from Warminster, by Devizes and Hungerford to Reading. The English battalions of foot guards were to be massed at Marlow to prevent the enemy from turning the King's right flank, and the horse and dragoons were to protect the rear.

Churchill's
Desertion.

On the next day, Nov. 23rd, Churchill, with base ingratitude, put into execution his long-formed design of deserting the sovereign who had loaded him with favours, and who now in the time of need and perplexity had most occasion for his genius and his sword. Among the first who followed his example was Grafton. Before setting out on his return journey, the King promoted Berwick from the colonelcy of the Royal Regiment of Horse to that of the 3rd Troop of Life Guards, in the place of Churchill; and the Earl of Arran,

a loyal Protestant, eldest son of the Duke of Hamilton, from the command of the Vth Horse (4th D. G.) to that of the Royal Regiment of Horse; and Arran's brother, the Earl of Selkirk, from Guidon and Major in the Life Guards to the command of the Vth Horse. Clifford, of the Royal Dragoons, was rewarded with the colonelcy of that regiment.⁽¹⁾ James made choice of the Earl of Litchfield (of the XIIIth Foot) for the responsible position of Colonel of the 1st Guards. Grafton was thus succeeded by his brother-in-law. A more devoted adherent to James could not have been found; he was one of the few who remained faithful to the last.

James halted the first night (Nov. 24th) at Andover. "Est il possible" George of Denmark,⁽²⁾ and the young Duke of Ormond (who had succeeded to the title in July on the death of his venerable grandfather, and had been made a K.G. on Sept. 29th) supped with him. So soon as the King had retired for the night, the faithless son-in-law and the Duke mounted their horses and rode off to the Prince of Orange's quarters at Sherborne. They were accompanied by Lord Drumlanrig. The defection of this young nobleman was not an event of insignificance, for his father, the first Duke of

Further Descriptions.

⁽¹⁾ He adhered to the fortunes of King James, and served in his army in Ireland as a Brigadier-general.

Major Littleton, of the R. H. G., who had performed a like good service at Axminster, was shortly afterwards killed in a duel by a brother officer, Captain Adderley. (Ellis, ii. 368.)

⁽²⁾ See *n.* in Clarendon's *Diary*, ii. 208.

Queensberry, was at the head of the Protestant Episcopalians of Scotland, and he, the son, was Lieut.-colonel of Dundee's regiment, a corps more detested by the Whigs than even Kirke's lambs.⁽¹⁾

James anxious
for his Son.

The King's great anxiety was to secure the safety of the infant Prince. On the same day that he left London for Salisbury, he despatched him, under an escort of 100 of Butler's Irish Dragoons and the troop of Scots Guards, ⁽²⁾ to Portsmouth, not only as a place of greater security, but one whence he might more easily be conveyed to France "if things went worse." ⁽³⁾ On the 25th he wrote to Lord Dartmouth from Andover by Lord Dover, whom he was sending down as Governor of Portsmouth in the room of Berwick, "I conjure you to assist Lord Dover in getting my son sent away in the yachts as soon as wind and weather will permit, for the first port they can get to in France, and that with as much secrecy as may be, and that trusty men may be put in the yachts; and I shall look upon this as one of the greatest pieces of service you can do me." Dartmouth wrote a long reply to the King, stating that he should be guilty of treason to his Majesty and the laws of the kingdom, were he to send away the Prince without the consent of the nation. He conjured the King not to insist upon it, and that he might be permitted to send back the Prince speedily. ⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ Macaulay, ii. 514.

⁽²⁾ These troops were afterwards to join the King at Salisbury. (*Marching Book*, No. 3.)

⁽³⁾ Luttrell, 477.

⁽⁴⁾ Dalrymple, ii., *App.*, B. 6.

The King upon this determined to have his son sent back ; but this required an escort, and his troops were as little to be trusted as the seamen. Fortunately there happened to be "two Catholic regiments of horse, now ready raised and clothed at their colonels' expense, the Earl of Salisbury and Mr. Holman ;" these were ordered, with a detachment of the Irish Dragoons, to march towards Portsmouth and conduct the infant Prince to London. Lord Dover sent away the Prince and his suite one hour earlier than the Portsmouth escort of cavalry had been ordered to be in attendance, consequently he was unprotected as far as the forest of Bere, near Titchfield, before the escort came up. The King says that it was reported that the Prince of Orange had information of the removal, and had sent a party of horse to intercept him. However, the little charge arrived safely, but the escort, on "being known to be Catholick Regiments," were so assailed by a prodigious mob that they were forced to break off, and each one to shift for himself ; but a squadron of the Life Guards opportunely met the Prince's coach at Kingston bridge, and brought him safely to Whitehall. The King had now determined to send the Queen and his son to France as soon as possible.

But doubtless the severest trial which the distressed monarch had to endure was the news that met him, on his return to London on the 26th, of the flight of the Princess Anne. As soon as she learnt that her husband had left the King, she withdrew from Whitehall secretly at night, attended by Lady

A Severe Trial. ^o

Churchill and Mrs. Berkeley, ⁽¹⁾ and made her way to Nottingham, under the protection of the Bishop of London, who having once held a commission in the regiment of horse guards, resumed the buff coat and sword for the occasion, and took the command of the volunteers who had gathered around them on their way. Lord Devonshire and a strong body of his horsemen rode out to meet the Princess, and escorted her into the town, where she was entertained at his expense. With the desire of joining her husband, she proceeded to Oxford, attended by the Earl and his adherents. Devonshire having conducted the Princess to Oxford, left next day to wait on the Prince, who received him very graciously. The volunteers remained at Oxford until the flight of the King, when all the officers who had commanded them from their first raising received commissions, and the private men who elected to remain were formed into the Xth Horse. ⁽²⁾

Sir E. Hales
removed.

One of the first acts of the King was to remove Sir Edward Hales from the lieutenancy of the Tower, to appease the citizens, who were incensed against him for having planted guns to bear upon the City. Skelton was selected to succeed him in command of the fortress in which he had been so lately a prisoner. ⁽³⁾ Kirke on some

⁽¹⁾ Wife of Colonel John Berkeley, afterwards Viscount Fitzharding in Ireland.

⁽²⁾ Colley Cibber's Apology, p. 61.

⁽³⁾ *Lond. Gaz.*, Nov. 26th to 29th, 1688. "His Majesty has been pleased to appoint Colonel Bevil Skelton to be Lieutenant of the Tower of London." Several authors call him "Sir Bevil," but no

pretence having refused to march to Devizes, was sent up as a prisoner.⁽¹⁾ Brigadier-general Trelawny, expecting a similar fate, withdrew with his Lieut.-colonel, Charles Churchill, and some thirty men of his regiment (4th), and joined the Prince of Orange. On December 7th, Kirke was examined before the Privy Council, but nothing being proved against him, he was discharged. Dumbarton was sent with two squadrons of cavalry to Warminster, and brought off the division there without interruption. Lieut.-colonel Orby, of the 3rd Troop of Life Guards, was appointed in Trelawny's place.

The Royal cause now seemed hopeless. Dartmouth had written that he would answer for his own loyalty, but not for that of the fleet. The Scots Guards, a corps on which the King placed the firmest reliance, had expressed reluctance to fight against his opponents, whilst every hour brought news of the great towns of the provinces being secured by the partisans of the Prince, and of the defection which had taken place even in Scotland, where James thought himself absolute. Under these circumstances, the King summoned the Peers to ask their opinion. The advice they gave him was to

Peers summoned.

evidence appears of his having been knighted. He left England with James, who raised him to the rank of Major-general. He died in Paris in 1736, at a very advanced age. (See *N. and Q.*, 3rd s., viii. 413.)

(1) "A detachment of 20 Horse and 2 Com. Officers to march this day to Colebrooke, where they are to take into their custody the person of M.-Generall Kirk, and to bring him to London, where you are to cause him to be kept in safe custody in his own lodgings.

" 28th Novr., 1681.

"To the Earl of Craven, Lt.-Generall of Our forces."

(*Marching Orders*, vol. 3.)

issue a pardon to the Prince's adherents, to remove Papists from office, to assemble a Parliament, and to send a deputation to treat with the Prince. He readily and unreservedly complied. On the 30th a Proclamation was issued for summoning a Parliament to meet at Westminster on the 15th day of January, and Lords Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin were nominated as commissioners for treating with the Prince. They were particularly instructed to stipulate that the Prince's army should not approach nearer than thirty or forty miles of London; "for if," said the King, "he would not agree to this reasonable proposal, it was a sign that he would do nothing by way of treaty."

Prince of
Orange.

Upon the news of the King's arrival at Salisbury, the Prince marched out of Exeter with his army, leaving Sir John Guise and his newly-raised regiment to guard the city. On the 20th occurred the skirmish at Wincanton. The Prince halted at Sherborne, from which he could advance either towards Salisbury or elsewhere, according to circumstances. His original design was to have secured Bristol and Gloucester, and then to have occupied Oxford; thus he would have had a strong position if the royal army should attack him; for the King being so much superior in cavalry, it was inexpedient to march through the great plains of Dorsetshire and Wiltshire. The garrison of Plymouth having declared for him, no danger threatened his rear; and when he arrived at Sherborne, Burnet says "all Dorsetshire came in a body and

joined him." The King's precipitate retreat decided him to march with all speed to London. On December 4th the Prince marched into Salisbury, with the same military pomp with which he had entered Exeter, and took up his quarters in the Bishop's Palace, so lately vacated by the King.

The *Universal Intelligencer* (No. 1) has the following report:—"On Sunday the King had an express from Reading that the Scotch Reg^t of Horse and four troops of Dragoons there quartered, being on Saturday last alarmed with the approach of the enemy, retired from the Town; but the Scouts sent out overtaking them near Twyford Bridge, about four miles on this side of Reading, and assuring them that no enemy was within ten miles of the Town, they thereupon returned to their quarters, where they arrived about eleven at night. About midnight, most of them being repos'd, they were alarmed that the enemy was within half a mile of the Town. The Scotch, nimbler than the rest, were hors'd, and quitted the Town. The Irish Dragoons, under the command of M.-Gen^l Mathews, were by the Enemy attack't, who instantly killed about 50 of them, and feeling themselves too few to resist, the rest fled, and the M.-Gen^l escap'd with about half-a-score of his party."⁽¹⁾

It is stated that the inhabitants had sent an invitation to the Prince's troops to occupy the town, on the plea of protecting themselves from

(1) See also *State Tracts*, W. III., vol. i., p. 84.

the violence of the Irish, and that they fired upon them from their windows.⁽¹⁾ The account given is somewhat vague; but the Prince's troops reaped the honour, as well as the popularity, of driving away the Irish, who were regarded as wild aliens. Maidenhead Bridge also was fortified, and its defence entrusted to the Irish troops; but it is stated that some of the inhabitants beat a Dutch march in the night, and the soldiers, believing that the enemy was upon them, retreated in confusion. It was at this time that a battalion of the Scots Guards went over to the Prince, not without some imputation on the loyalty of their Colonel, General Douglas. Barillon, in a despatch of the 11th of December, reported King James's astonishment at the desertion of Douglas's Scotch regiment, because of all his regiments he trusted it the most.⁽²⁾

On Friday, the 7th of December, seven companies of Lord Forbes's Irish regiment marched into Tilbury Fort, whereupon the Protestant officers, consisting of three Captains, two Lieutenants, and one Ensign, threw up their commissions.⁽³⁾

Interview with
the Prince.

The Prince contrived to avoid meeting the Lords Commissioners for some days; meanwhile he was steadily advancing with his army. An interview was at length obtained at Hungerford, on the 8th of December. The Dutch Foot Guards were drawn

⁽¹⁾ Baker's *Chron.*, 757. Kennett, iii. 499.—These authors say "a regiment of Scotch horse," but Dundee's regiment was the only one of Scotch horse, and it remained true to the last.

⁽²⁾ Dalrymple, ii., *App.*, p. 259.

⁽³⁾ Luttrell, 483.

up, and drums were beaten as the deputation passed.⁽¹⁾ The sagacious Prince declined a private interview, but all the English noblemen and gentlemen were present at his desire, so as to make them parties to the reply. Having listened to the terms proposed, he referred the answer to those who had assisted at the audience, and after entertaining the Commissioners at dinner, he left to pass the night at Littlecote House, two miles off, so as not to appear to influence the decision.

As soon as the writs for the new Parliament were issued, and every one interested in the elections repaired to their counties, Clarendon took the opportunity of going to Salisbury and presented himself to the Prince. On his journey thither he met at Staines the royal artillery train returning from Salisbury. The Prince welcomed him, as no doubt he would, and expressed his sense of the service his son had done him; Cornbury met his father there, and all regrets at the son's desertion seemed to have vanished. The Prince of Denmark was lodging in the Deanery. Lord Oxford also arrived. Clarendon called on Schomberg, Bentinck, and Burnet. As it may be presumed that this latter spoke the sentiments of the Prince of Orange, the conversation Clarendon had with him is remarkable, as showing that the Prince had deeper designs than those stated in his Declaration. Upon Clarendon remarking "that if it pleased God to give a blessing

(1) Sir Patrick Hume's *Diary*.

to the treaty, the King and Prince would quickly be agreed, and then all would do well, the Doctor interrupted him in great heat: 'What treaty? How can there be a treaty? The sword is drawn: there is a supposititious child, which must be inquired into.'"

The Prince's
Reply.

On the 9th December the Prince's answer was delivered to the Commissioners to the following effect: "That all Romanists were to be removed from office; that for the security of the city of London the Tower and Tilbury Fort should be placed in the hands of the said city; that if his Majesty shall think fit to be at London during the sitting of the Parliament, that we may be there also, with equal number of our guards; or if his Majesty shall please to be at any place from London, whatever distance he thinks fit, that we may be at a place at the same distance; that the respective armies be forty miles from the metropolis; that a revenue should be assigned to us for the maintenance of our troops, until the sitting of a Free Parliament; that to prevent the landing of the French⁽¹⁾ or other foreign troops, Portsmouth be put into such hands as by his Majesty and us shall be agreed on."

Notwithstanding that these terms were very moderate, indeed favourable under the circumstances, James felt that they disabled him from

(1) There was some foundation for this. Barillon, in a letter of the 25th November, mentions a force of French troops being ready at Dunkirk and Calais to sail for England. (Dalrymple, ii., *App.*, p. 258.)

further defence, and introduced a rival to cope with him in his capital. He was "confirmed in his resolution of sending the Queen and young Prince into France, and of following himself in 24 hours." It appears that in consenting to the mission to William, he had no hope of a favourable issue to the negotiation. Indeed, Barillon states that his motive in complying with that measure was only to gain time to provide for the placing his wife and son in security.⁽¹⁾ On a miserable night (December 9th) Mary d'Este, disguised, with the nurse carrying the future Chevalier, then barely five months old, attended by the Count de Lauzun, left Whitehall privately by the river stairs. The little party crossed the Thames in an open boat; at Lambeth they had to wait in torrents of rain for the hired carriage which had not arrived. At length they were conveyed to Gravesend, where a yacht was in waiting, and they landed in safety at Calais. Louis, with a courtesy which did credit to him, immediately on hearing from the Queen, despatched his principal equerry and coaches to convey her to St. Germain en Laye.⁽²⁾

James's firmness of mind now disappears, and henceforth his conduct is marked with folly and pusillanimity. In his perturbation he formed the

James's Perturbation.

(1) Despatch, cited by Mazure, *Hist. de la Révolution*, iii. 219.

(2) See the Queen's touching letter, in Lingard, viii. n. F:—

"Une pauvre reyne fugitive, et baignée dans ses larmes, n'a point eu de peine à s'exposer aux plus grands périls de la mer, pour venir chercher de la consolation et un asile auprès du plus grand roi, et du plus généreux monarque du monde."

extraordinary resolution of deserting his post and fleeing from the kingdom. So secret had he kept his intention that it took every one by surprise. He was probably influenced by a dread for his personal safety. Halifax, acting as his commissioner, and consequently supposed to be acting in his interest, had played the traitor. This is confirmed by the report of a conversation detailed by Burnet and Clarendon.⁽¹⁾ He now wrote to the King that his Majesty's life was in danger, and that he had only a short time to save it. To carry out his purpose, James assembled all the peers who were in London, in order to report the progress of the negotiations, and appointed another meeting for the next day; in order to conceal his intention, he sent to Feversham that he was coming down to Uxbridge on the morrow to head the army, and the Life Guards were ordered to be in readiness to escort him. In the course of the day he consigned his Memoirs, consisting of "nine Tomes written in his own hand," to the care of the Tuscan Minister. He destroyed all the writs that were not sent out, imagining that on his departure it would not be possible to assemble a Parliament, which by the Constitution could be called only by the King. He also addressed a letter to Feversham, in which he thanked him and those officers and men of the army who had remained faithful to him, and hoping that they would retain their fidelity, yet he did not expect them to expose themselves by

(1) *Own Times*, iii. 341. Clarendon, ii. 220.

resisting a foreign army and a poisoned nation.⁽¹⁾ At night, as usual, he retired to his bed. Between 12 and 1 o'clock of the morning of the 11th December, he arose, and having told the Duke of Northumberland,⁽²⁾ the Lord of the Bed-chamber-in-waiting, not to open the doors until the accustomed hour,—attired in a plain suit and short black wig—the King of England left Whitehall by a secret passage, and on this day his reign is held to have terminated. Outside he found Sir Edward Hales and a hackney-coach, and accompanied by him and two servants he was driven to the Horse-ferry. Here he crossed the Thames in a wherry to Vauxhall, he dropped the Great Seal—which he had procured from Jeffreys—in the middle of the stream⁽³⁾ that nothing legal should be done in his absence; at Vauxhall he landed, horses were in readiness there, and he reached Emley ferry, near Faversham, at 10 o'clock, where a custom-house hoy was moored which was to convey him to the nearest port in France.

If James had deliberately resolved to place William on the throne, he could not have taken measures more conducive to that end. He fled

The King's
mistake.

⁽¹⁾ *James II.*, ii. 250.

⁽²⁾ George Fitzroy, 3rd natural son of Charles II. and the Duchess of Cleveland. After the decease of Sir Philip Howard, in February, 1685, James II. appointed him Captain and Colonel of the Queen's troop of Life Guards; from which he was removed in April, 1689 by William. It was the custom of the Lord of the Bedchamber-in-waiting to occupy a pallet-bed in the King's chamber when the Queen was absent. (*Buckinghamshire*, ii. 73.)

⁽³⁾ "It was found some months after by a fisherman near Fox Hall." (Burnet, iii. 344.)

without being pursued, and without any just cause to fear for his life or liberty. He had made no provision for the government of the kingdom. He violated his promise that he would call a Parliament, which was all that the Prince professed to demand; and he ordered the disbandment of his army without any care for their pay.

Northumberland kept the secret. At the usual hour of the levée the doors of the King's apartments were thrown open, and the Lord-in-waiting emerged alone; the fact of the royal escape then transpired. After this last act of duty to his master and uncle, he repaired to his troop of Guards, and declared for the Prince; which example was followed by the Marquis de Miremont, and other principal officers about town. An express was sent by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal to the Prince to announce the circumstance, and to declare their willingness to do their best to keep London quiet until his Highness's arrival.⁽¹⁾ Astonishment and confusion prevailed everywhere. The consternation was increased when Feversham, believing from the expression in the King's letter that it was his wish that the army should be disbanded, assembled at Uxbridge the forces, consisting of about 4,000 men, read the letter to them, and dismissed them on the spot. The scene is described by Creighton:—

“The earl of Dunbarton, with all the officers who adhered to the King, was ordered to meet his

⁽¹⁾ Kennett, iii. 500.

majesty at Uxbridge, where he designed to fight the prince. . . . The earl, to his great surprise, received a letter from the King, signifying, that his majesty was gone off, and had no further service for the army. When I carried this news to my lord Dundee, neither he nor the lords Linlithgow and Dunmore could forbear falling into tears."

Feversham and the general officers dispatched the following letter to the Prince of Orange:—

"SIR,—

"Having receiv'd this morning a letter from his Majesty with the unfortunate news of his Resolution to go out of England, I thought my self oblig'd (being at the Head of his Army, and having receiv'd his Orders, to make no Opposition against any body), to let your Highness know it, with the advice of the officers here, so soon as was possible, to hinder the effusion of Blood. I have order'd already to the Purpose all the Troops that are under my Command, which shall be the last Order they shall receive from

"FEVERSHAM. LANIER. FENWICK. OGLETHORPE."

The trumpeter sent with this letter returned without an answer, a proof that the Prince disapproved of the proceeding; in fact the hasty disbanding was generally censured; for the flight of the King was the signal for riots in London. Romish chapels were sacked and demolished, the houses of obnoxious individuals, and even those of the foreign

Riots in consequence.

ministers,⁽¹⁾ were attacked; and the troops who would have quelled these outrages were now added to the dangerous classes. A false report, circulated with a purpose, that the Irish were marching upon London, burning and massacring indiscriminately, caused the wildest panic throughout the metropolis.⁽²⁾ To repress anarchy and disaster, about thirty of the peers assembled at Guildhall, and formed themselves into a provisional government. Their authority was accepted, and they issued orders which were readily obeyed. They gave directions to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen for preserving the peace of the City; they removed Skelton from the lieutenancy of the Tower, and appointed Lord Lucas—who happened to be quartered there at that time with his company of foot—as his successor.⁽³⁾ Orders were issued for calling out the militia, and Dartmouth was enjoined to refrain from hostile operations against the Dutch fleet, and to displace all Popish officers who held commands under him. Lastly, they unanimously

(1) Evelyn, iii. 285. It is some satisfaction to learn that the King admits that it was "to the great honour of the English Nation, notwithstanding their turbulent and factious spirit, they are so far from a bloody disposition, that not one single Catholic, or even Irishman, was known to lose his life by this wicked and inhuman contrivance." (*James II.*, ii. 258.)

(2) The report was not altogether unfounded. There is documentary evidence of certain pensions and gratuities being paid to persons who were wounded, and to the families of those who had been killed in the defence of Gravesend against the Irish, on the 12th Dec., 1688. (*Vide Cruden's Gravesend*, 382.)

(3) *Buckinghamshire*, ii. 74. Nephew of the first peer of that name, and of the gallant Sir Charles Lucas, shot by order of Fairfax on the taking of Colchester in 1648.

resolved to apply to the Prince of Orange to settle the affairs of the nation, deserted as it was by the King.

The Prince continued to advance without precipitation through Newbury to Wallingford, with the intention of going to Oxford; but intelligence of the King's flight having reached him there, he abandoned that design and marched to Henley; where a deputation from the peers, the magistracy, and deputy-lieutenants of the City waited on him, begging his protection, and inviting him to London. Acting upon this, the Prince lost no time in issuing the following requisition:—

“Whereas We are informed that divers Regiments, Troops and Companies have been encourag'd to disperse themselves in an unusual and unwarrantable manner, whereby the Publick Peace is very much disturbed, We have thought fit hereby to require all Colonels and Commanders in Chief by beat of Drum or otherwise to call together the several Officers and Soldiers belonging to their respective Regiments, Troops, and Companies in such places as they shall find most convenient for their Rendezvous, and there to keep them in good Order and Discipline,” &c.

“Given at Our Court at Henley, December 13, 1688.

“PRINCE OF ORANGE.”

It will be observed that the Prince adopted a royal style. He sent for Lord Danby, and desired Blathwayt to furnish him with a list of the King's

army. He dispatched Churchill to London to re-assemble his troop of Life Guards, and Grafton, restored to the command of the 1st Guards, to garrison Tilbury with a battalion of his regiment. An order was issued, in pursuance of the Prince's directions, that all Irish officers and soldiers should repair forthwith to their respective bodies, and on their peaceable behaviour should have subsistence paid to them until they were otherwise provided for or employed. They were to deliver up their arms to the Officers of the Ordnance, to be lodged by them in the Tower. In default of obeying these directions, they would be dealt with as vagabonds. ⁽¹⁾

James arrested.

These measures were carried out in the belief that the King had left the country. On the morning of the 14th December the news reached the metropolis that he had been seized by sailors and fishermen, and was now detained by the rabble at Faversham. This was a *contretemps* uncalculated upon by those who thought they saw the way clear for putting the Prince at once on the throne. It appears that, in consequence of the wind freshening, the master of the hoy could not venture to put to sea without taking in ballast. For that purpose she was run ashore near Sheerness, and before she could be got under weigh again she was boarded by men in boats, who were looking out for prize-money by the capture of priests and other fugitives. The King and Hales were landed and taken in a coach to the Queen's Arms inn at Faversham, after being

(1) Kennett, iii. 502.

subjected to the most brutal indignities. The King sent for the Earl of Winchelsea, Lord-lieutenant of the county, one of those who had been displaced and restored; but he could effect little good for the King, as most of the gentry had declared for the Prince, and the rabble were unwilling to part with their prize. Information of the capture was at once forwarded to the Prince, who had then arrived at Windsor, and who doubtless was annoyed at the circumstance. ⁽¹⁾ A pitiable letter, written by James, was delivered to the Lords then sitting in council at Guildhall. For very shame they could not pass by such an appeal, and it was finally resolved that Feversham, with his troop of Life Guards and Grenadiers, should be sent with coaches, and conduct him wherever he thought proper to go. ⁽²⁾ James, who had tried in vain to bribe one of his captors, a rough fellow who owned a small fishing-boat, to let him escape, now decided, by the advice of some around him, to return to London.

In consequence of the excitement at Faversham, the Life Guards were halted at Sittingbourne. James was escorted thither by two troops of the Kent Horse-militia under the command of Sir Basil Dixwell and Sir James Oxenden; ⁽³⁾ and then the

⁽¹⁾ Burnet, in conversation with Clarendon at Windsor, remarked: "It was foolishly done of those who stopped the King at Feversham." (Clarendon, *Diary*, ii. 227.)

⁽²⁾ *Buckinghamshire*, ii. 77.

⁽³⁾ A valuable contemporary contribution to the history of this interesting event is afforded in the MS. Diary of Sir John Knatchbull, found among the family papers at Mersham Hatch in 1848. It is printed in *N. and Q.*, 3rd S., vi. 1.

King, to his great relief, put himself under the charge of Lord Feversham, who was accompanied by Sir John Fenwick and Sir John Talbot; he passed the night at Rochester, from which place he despatched Feversham with a letter to the Prince, inviting him to a personal conference in London on the affairs of the nation, and informing him that apartments in St. James's Palace would be prepared for his reception. James on his road was met by some loyal officers, who informed him that the battalion of his own regiment of guards which was left at Whitehall had declared for the Prince, and that therefore he would not be safe in such hands. This decided the King to pass through the City, in order that he might retain his escort all the way. To his immeasurable surprise, on entering it, the people met him with acclamations of joy at his return, on Sunday, the 16th December; the church bells rang out merry peals; he was preceded by a body of gentlemen with their heads uncovered; the women wept as he passed; a crowd of men followed his coach with shouts to the gates of Whitehall; ⁽¹⁾ and the evening was ushered in with bonfires. It was, as the King observed, "liker a day of tryumph than humiliation." James, not unmindful of his religious duties, went to mass, and dined in public, as in the days of his prosperity, "a Jesuit saying grace." ⁽²⁾ Pity, next akin to love, made the people for the occasion forget past injuries at the sight of present

⁽¹⁾ Ellis, ii. 363.

⁽²⁾ "I was present," says Evelyn. (*Diary*, 16th Dec.)

misfortunes; "so slight and unstable a thing is a multitude, and so soon altered," says Burnet. Two days after, the populace hailed the arrival of William with similar acclamations.

Possibly, during these demonstrations of loyalty, a few rays of hope may have illumined the troubled mind of the King, but they were soon dispelled by the ominous arrival of Zuleistein.

Immediately after Feversham's arrival at Windsor, Zuleistein had been despatched post haste with a letter from the affectionate nephew to his uncle, desiring him to stay at Rochester. But the Envoy arrived at Rochester too late to effect his purpose, and followed the King to Whitehall, where he delivered the letter. James expressed his regret that he had not received it in time, and his hopes that the Prince would come up to a conference on the morrow. Zuleistein replied that his Highness could not come until his Majesty's troops were sent out of London. The King made no answer, and the interview closed. ⁽¹⁾

Zuleistein could not have been in ignorance of the arrest of Feversham, nor of the order sent to Lord Craven on that day to have the King's troops removed from London on Monday, preparatory to the arrival of the Prince on Tuesday. But he made no reference to them; it was only on De Roye's entrance, upon the other's retiring, that the King learnt of Feversham's arrest by order of the Prince. The pretext for this was that he had presented

(1) *James II.*, ii. 262.

- himself without first obtaining permission; but no doubt in reality the Prince was irritated at his having disbanded the army. The King sent for Zuleistein back, and remonstrated with him at this indignity, asserting that it was contrary to the law of nations to detain a public minister; and hoped that his nephew would have that consideration for him as not to detain his officer in restraint any longer. ⁽¹⁾

Lord Craven was now a Lieut.-general, and in command of the troops in London. He was a devotedly loyal subject, and amidst the defection that prevailed everywhere he had kept his Coldstreamers intact. The order which he had received from the Prince, but which he does not appear to have obeyed, was as below:—

“Windsor, 15th Dec., 1688.

“MY LORD,

“I am very well satisfied with your Lordship's care in Preserving the Publick Peace, and cannot doubt of your continuance of it in every thing that may be requisite for my service. At present I think fitt to acquaint you with my resolution to come to London on Tuesday next, so that it will be necessary that the fforces now there be removed the day before to such Quarters as are appointed them; ⁽²⁾ and as I have in their stead ordered

⁽¹⁾ The Prince paid no regard to his uncle's request, but kept him a prisoner till the end of the year, when he was released at the intercession of the Queen-dowager. (Echard. Luttrell, 495.)

⁽²⁾ The “Quarters appointed for the Forces,” printed subsequently in the *Gazette* of December 17th, were probably enclosed.

three thousand of my Guards of ffoot to march thither, so as to be there on Monday, together with eight hundred of my Guards of Horse; You are to give such Orders, that they may be placed before my arrivall in the Quarters formerly taken up by the English Guards. I intend likewise to send on the same day the English brigade, consisting of three thousand men to Southwark, the Tower, Tower Hamletts, and Places adjacent, for the Quartering of which it will be requisite that you direct the necessary Preparations to be made in such manner as may be most convenient for my Service and Ease of the Inhabitants, for the better effecting whereof I have informed the Lord Churchill more particularly of my intentions, to whom I do therefore refer you for his Assistance as there shall be occasion. And so I bid you farewell.

“Your most affectionate friend,

“W. H. P. D'O.” ⁽¹⁾

“To Earl of Craven.”

The King on the evening of his arrival held a privy council, which was attended by only eight members, at which an order was issued to all Lord-lieutenants and others to prevent outrages such as had been committed lately by burning, pulling-down, and otherwise defacing houses and other buildings, and rifling and plundering the same, and to suppress all riotous meetings and assemblies. This, no doubt, had reference to the destruction of

The King's last council.

(1) P.R.O. War Office. Marching Orders.

the Roman Catholic chapels, and was James II.'s last public act.

Dutch troop
in London.

On Monday evening a division of the Prince's army was ordered to march to Kensington and Chelsea, and to quarter there for the night. Subsequently they received orders to advance to London, and take possession, by fair means or by force, of all the posts about St. James's and Whitehall. At ten o'clock at night three battalions of the Dutch blue guards, with eight hundred horse, entered St. James's Park, and took possession of the Palace. At eleven o'clock a body of them marched across the Park with lighted matches and in order of battle, to occupy the posts about St. James's. The Coldstream Guards were on duty, and the officer in command was unwilling to abandon his charge. He reported the circumstance to Lord Craven. The gallant veteran of eighty winters declared that he would be cut in pieces rather than resign his post at Whitehall to the Prince's guards,⁽¹⁾ and waited on the King for his commands. James, by his own account, was completely taken by surprise. Craven had evidently not communicated to him the contents of the Prince's letter. He thought it possible that the Dutch guards had orders to take up their quarters in St. James's Palace, which the King had offered to the Prince upon his arrival for the conference. James sent for Count Solms, who was in command of the Dutch troops, and expressed his belief that he had mistaken his

(1) *Buckinghamshire*, ii. 81.

orders, which were only for St. James's, but Solms showed the King his orders, and after some discussion, James directed Lord Craven to draw off his men, and the Dutch troops at once took possession of all the posts with doubled sentries. So that, for the rest of the night, the King of England was virtually in captivity—at the mercy of the Dutch.

The miseries of the night did not end here. Shortly after midnight he was aroused from his slumbers by the Lord-in-waiting (Middleton), who informed him that Lords Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere were charged with a message to his Majesty which would admit of no delay. The King ordered him to admit them to his bedside; they presented to him a paper signed by the Prince of Orange, wherein they were instructed to tell the King that it was thought convenient, for the greater quiet of the city and the greater safety of his Majesty's person, that he should remove to Ham, a house of the Duchess of Lauderdale, where he should be attended by his Guards.⁽¹⁾ The King expressed his willingness to leave London, but objected to Ham, and said that he should prefer Rochester, where the Prince had desired him to remain, and where some of his own troops were quartered, who might protect him. Halifax said that they would represent his wishes to the Prince, and report his pleasure to his Majesty to-morrow at nine, but that in any case he must be prepared to

Midnight interview.

(1) Kennett, iii. 503.

leave at ten o'clock, as the Prince intended to arrive in town about noon. They then returned to Sion House, where the Prince had now taken up his quarters, and came back at the hour named next morning with permission for the King to go to Rochester. Doubtless, although James assigned another reason for selecting Rochester, the real object was its facility for escape; and in this respect uncle and nephew were in agreement. The King was also informed that the Prince would appoint a guard of his Dutch troops to attend him to Rochester, and James had the humiliation of accepting a pass, which he had requested, for one of his suite, whom he wished to send over with a letter to the Queen.

The King
leaves London.

As it was a tempestuous morning, the King wished to proceed through the city, and to go over London Bridge, but this was over-ruled by Halifax; so the whole *cortège* was embarked at Lambeth, a hundred men of the Dutch Guards in boats before and after the Royal barge. A few faithful friends attended his departure—a sad spectacle of majesty in distress—and the King of England was conveyed from his capital in the hands of foreigners. “The treatment,” says Clarendon, “the King had met with from the Prince of Orange, and the manner of his being driven, as it were, from Whitehall, moved compassion even in those who were not very fond of him.” ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ *Diary*, ii. 321.—Barillon, 30th Dec.

Thus fell James II. from the highest to an abject condition—unable to submit to necessity, yet incapable of a single effort of generous despair, he sank without dignity beneath his misfortunes.

He did not reach Gravesend till seven in the evening. He passed the night there, and next morning went on to Rochester, where he took up his residence at the house of Sir Richard Head. Several peers came down to visit him; among them Lords Arran, Dumbarton, Litchfield, and Ailesbury, and Generals Fenwick and Talbot threw up their commissions. The major, two captains, and many subalterns of the Earl of Bath's regiment, which was quartered there, did the same; and the King's account is that so many desertions took place from it, that when the regiment marched out next day to Canterbury its strength was not above one hundred and fifty men out of seven companies of sixty men each. The Coldstream Guards were the last of the London garrison to march out, "and being drawn up on Wednesday (19th December), and receiving their orders to march to Rochester, were very mutinous; a great many of them resolutely threw down their arms, and the rest went away discontentedly."⁽¹⁾ At Rochester the officers waited on James, and expressed to him their attachment. Major-gen. Sackville, the Lieut.-colonel, and Lieut.-colonel Huitson, the major, and his ensign Gabriel Thorne, resigned their commissions into the King's hands.

(¹) *Add. MSS.* 3929.

Curiously enough, the officer in command of the detachment of the Dutch Guards, and about half of the privates, were Roman Catholics, and they attended with the King to hear mass said the next morning. Burnet says, when they were asked how they could serve in an expedition intended to destroy their own religion, one of them answered that "his soul was God's, but his sword was the Prince of Orange's."⁽¹⁾ The Prince had a purpose in selecting his own Guards as the escort, for James perceived that they put no restraint on his movements, and that there were sentinels only at the front door towards the street, and none at the back, which opened on a garden leading to the river.

Final departure.

On the night of the 22nd, at nearly midnight, he left the house, accompanied only by the Duke of Berwick (who had yielded up his command of Portsmouth, and was succeeded by M.-General Talmash) and Mr. Biddulph, a groom of the bedchamber, entered a boat in the Medway, attended by two captains of his navy, and was rowed off Sheerness, where a smack had been engaged by those officers. But wind and tide being against them, it was nearly six o'clock in the morning before they reached the Swale, at the mouth of the Medway. The smack had been ordered to lie off Sheerness, but on account of the weather she could not keep her station. So the King went on board the *Eagle* fireship, knowing her commander to be a loyal officer, and remained in her till the smack could come up. They were

(1) *Own Times*, iii. 358.

in all twenty men, and were well provided with small arms and hand grenades to repel the attack of any small craft on the look-out for prizes, but they were not molested, and after a miserable and somewhat perilous voyage of two days, James landed safely at Ambleteuse, and proceeded to St. Germain, where he received a most courteous and generous welcome at the hands of Louis XIV. William, now installed at St. James's, received the agreeable intelligence of the King's flight a few hours after it occurred, and he at once signed an order for the departure of the French Ambassador within twenty-four hours.

"Quarters appointed for the English, Scots, and Irish Forces," published in the *London Gazette* for December 17th, 1688, no doubt the order referred to by the Prince in his letter to Lord Craven, is valuable as giving a list of the actual Royal Army.

Sir John Reresby, who came up to London on January 22nd, 1689, says he "found London much changed. The Guards and other parts of the army, which both in their persons and gallantry were an ornament to the town, were sent to quarters ten miles off, and the streets were filled with ill-looking and ill-habited Dutch and other strangers of the Prince's army; and yet the City was so pleased with their deliverers that they did not or would not perceive their deformity, nor the oppression they lay under, which was much greater than what they felt from the English army."

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